

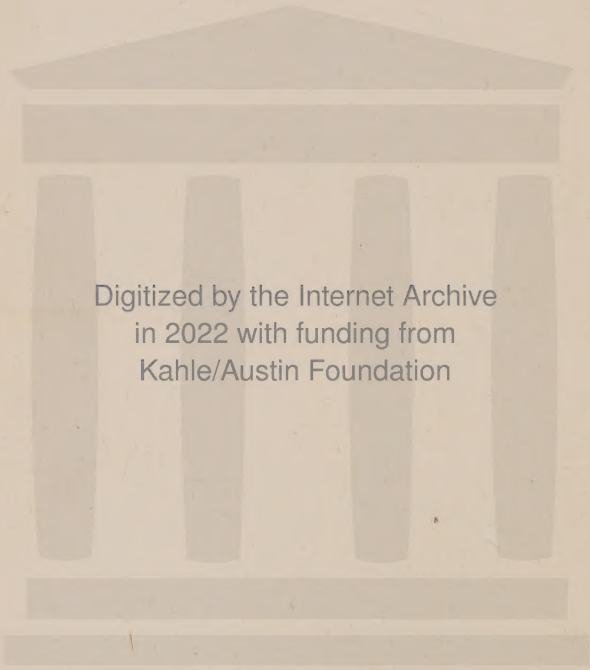
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A REVIEW OF IRISH HISTORY

IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT OF IRELAND



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A
REVIEW OF IRISH HISTORY

IN RELATION TO THE SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT OF IRELAND

By
JOHN PATRICK GANNON



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PREFACE

THE aim of the following pages is to explain historically some of the difficulties suggested by the present state of Ireland. A country which presents so striking a contrast between its actual condition and the intelligence of its people, is a problem insoluble by any one who does not examine the present in the light of the past. The history of Ireland is, no doubt, a sad one; but its painful details fortunately do not enter within the scope of this rapid survey. At the same time, it seems to me that the study of Irish history has been rendered more than necessarily morbid by an undue prominence having been generally given to such details. The chief value of history lies in the lessons which it conveys. But no clear or wholesome lesson can be contained in

lists of injuries, outrages, and crimes, compiled in the spirit of an advocate, without regard to historical perspective, not to speak of historical charity. My own opinion is—as I have endeavoured to show in the text—that, given the peculiar combination of circumstances to which Ireland has been exposed, and allowing on all sides for the weaknesses of human nature, the actual development of Irish society has been very much what might have been expected. If this view be correct, historical re-criminations between different sections of Irishmen are as unreasonable as they are futile, and nothing remains but to profit by the experience of the past.

In so slight a work as this a list of authorities would be out of place; but I may say I have consulted most of those which are usually quoted in Irish histories. Among modern writings I am especially indebted to those of the late Professor W. K. Sullivan for the early period, and those of Mr W. H. Lecky for the later one. In spite of the assistance of such guides, I cannot hope that I have achieved much success in this attempt to review within a short compass the general course

of Irish history. But should my attempt have the result of impelling some other Irishman, better qualified than I am, to make a really philosophical study of the history of his country, I shall feel that it has not been made in vain.

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ERRATA.

- p. 55, line 20. Omit comma after "conquered."
- p. 70, line 12. For "seemed" read "seem."
- p. 72, line 20. For "fastness" read "fastnesses."
- p. 114, line 17. For "the" read "their."
- p. 157, line 6. For "them" read "it."
- p. 165, line 27. For "and" read "or."
- p. 191, line 17. For "sufferings" read "suffering."
- p. 205, line 9. For "manufacturers"
read "manufactures."

A REVIEW OF IRISH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT IRELAND

THOUSANDS of years ago, when the fertile plains of Western Europe were overgrown with brushwood and forest, an offshoot of the Aryan family wandered into their midst. These were the Celts, the first of their race to leave the old home, where the ancestors of most European peoples once dwelt together in brotherhood. At the outset of their career, these Celts thus gave proof of one of their abiding characteristics, a love of novelty and adventure, the natural reaction of a deeply conservative temperament. Sometimes they chased the earlier inhabitants away; at other times they settled down among them; but, so far as we know, they never exterminated a conquered people. For a long time the Celts were supreme on both banks of the Rhine.

Afterwards they were pressed further westward by other Aryan immigrants. When, for the first time in history, we have a clear view of their position, their head-quarters are in the country which the Romans called Transalpine Gaul, and which we call France. It was thence that they issued in swarms, to seek adventures and spoils in other lands. In the north they peopled the British Isles. They passed the Pyrenees, mingled with the native Iberians west of the Ebro, and planted Celtic colonies on the Guadiana and the Minho. In Italy they took possession of the great plain of the Po, and, marching southward, well nigh achieved the ruin of infant Rome. Some of them turned back to the east, ravaged Greece, crossed the Bosphorus, and settled in Asia Minor. The personal appearance and habits of the Celtic tribes are vividly described in classical writings. They appear as a host of gigantic warriors, with fair hair clustering around their white foreheads, with fierce blue eyes and long mustachios, adorned with rings and necklaces of gold. We see them gathering together and singing hymns before battle, then brandishing their long swords and axes, and falling with terrific shouts upon the Greek phalanx or the Roman legion. They long disdained to wear any kind of armour. Sometimes they even flung away mantle and tunic, and rushed naked to the charge. A wild contempt

of danger, headlong courage at the onset, unsustained by discipline, characterized their mode of warfare.

In time of peace their habits were simple. They tilled the earth but little, preferring the indolence and ease of pastoral life. Their favourite intellectual exercise was a rude form of oratory, in which, at the head of armies or in their public assemblies, their leaders found scope for their natural eloquence. For the rest, their qualities showed themselves on the surface. Their nature was joyous and impetuous. Theirs was not the stoicism of the Roman or the Teuton, but rather the sensibility and passion of the Greek. They laughed and wept freely. Possessed of keen wit and high intelligence, and impressionable beyond other races, they could, when they chose, quickly imbibe the spirit of a superior culture and civilization. But they were under the sway of impulse and a warm imagination, which often clouded their intellect and weakened their judgment. To these characteristics they added an instinctive repugnance to discipline, a strange fickleness, and the spirit of disunion ; qualities which would suddenly disappear into the background, whenever they felt themselves under the rule of a born leader. Their religion, like that of other Aryans, was a worship of the objects and forces of Nature. They had a regular hierarchy, who were also their teachers in what they had of profane

learning. Politically they were divided into tribes, dwelling in fortified hamlets and towns. Each tribe had a chieftain or petty king, who was assisted in the government by an aristocratic class. The tribes were loosely united in confederacies, constantly at war with each other. Such were the ancient Celts in the days of their independence, as depicted by Greek and Latin writers.

With the growth of the empire of Rome, the period of Celtic greatness passed away. In Italy, in Spain, in Gaul itself, not without many a heroic struggle, the Celtic tribes gave way before the conquerors of Greece and Carthage. The mountain fastness grew into a Roman village. The stockaded town was succeeded by a miniature of the imperial city. The round huts of wicker-work and clay were replaced by structures of brick and marble. Massive exterior walls, curia and amphitheatre, baths and temples sprang up after the Roman model. The national deities—the spirits of earth, and air, and water—found altars in the great pantheon of Roman polytheism, and were served by strange priests speaking a foreign tongue. Straight, paved roads penetrated into the heart of the country, linking town with town. The unruly tribesmen settled down quietly upon the land. The chieftain cut off his long hair, and exchanged the tunic and mantle for the toga. He cultivated the Roman

language and letters, and won high honours in camp and forum. The overthrow of the old institutions was complete, and the jarring tribes were welded together in the iron grasp of the imperial system of Rome. But in the east, though there too, he had fallen under the Roman sway, the Celt, like his conqueror, felt the spell of Greek civilization. There he was Hellenized, not Latinized. There he learned to speak the Greek tongue, celebrate Greek games, and worship in the temples of Apollo and Bacchus. Even the religion of the native Phrygian was not despised, and priests of Celtic blood danced and shook the cymbals before the chariot of the Great Mother. The conquest of Britain all but completed the triumph of the Roman arms over those of their early rivals. Such of the British tribes as still clung to their freedom could only find a footing among the mountains. In Britain, too, the Roman language and institutions rapidly gained ground. It seemed as if the Celtic traditions and the Celtic tongue must perish from the earth. The brilliant, daring, restless people, who had roamed and conquered everywhere, from the Euxine to the Atlantic, were well-nigh absorbed in the imperial growth of Rome in every land but one.

This solitary land was the island of Ireland, where the Roman soldier was destined never to set foot.

It was, therefore, in a special sense, the home of the Celt. Yet the population was not of exclusively Celtic origin. For here, as elsewhere, before the dawn of history, a dark, low-sized people, already, probably, of mixed blood, roamed over the country, fishing in the streams, and hunting with flint-tipped arrows and javelins in the woods. Their implements were of stone and earth. They were clad in the skins of wild animals, and adorned themselves with necklaces of shells. With this primitive race the Celtic immigrants must have gradually blended, in proportions varying in different parts of the island. Long before the beginnings of Irish history, the Celtic language and customs seem to have been supreme, so that the whole people might be broadly described as Celtic. The pagan Irish, then, resembled the Celtic tribes of Britain and the Continent, while, owing to their remote position, they had been less exposed to external influences. Accordingly, Celtic customs were preserved by them in all their simplicity, and the Celtic characteristics found their fullest development among them. Not till the fifth century of our era did an outside force begin to act upon Ireland. It was then, in the hour of her weakness and degradation, that Rome achieved what she had not attempted when at the height of her power. Her missionaries took the place of her legions, and won a bloodless victory over heathen-

dom and barbarism. When the great empire, which had survived so many storms, had fallen to pieces, and the wild tribes of Germany were dividing the spoils, a Christian Briton, from the banks of the Clyde, who had studied and been ordained in Gaul, went to preach the faith in Ireland. He had lived there in captivity in his youth, and was acquainted with the Irish language. He traversed the whole country from north to south, baptizing the people in thousands. The old paganism seemed paralysed, and powerless to stem the tide of Christianity. The Roman alphabet was introduced, and the Latin language quickly became the tongue of religion and learning. Latin words even passed into the vulgar speech. An acquaintance with Roman architecture, with Roman art, and, in a far higher degree, with Roman letters, followed in the wake of Christianity. It seemed as if his old destiny had pursued the Celt to the end, and, in a new form, had captured his last stronghold. There he had suffered a moral conquest at the hands of Rome.

The introduction of Christianity thus brought a new force into old Irish society. How did this religious force meet the existing secular one, the tribal system? What terms did they come to? How far did they influence each other? In order to answer these questions we must briefly examine the tribal life and institutions of ancient Ireland.

We can do this from records, which, if they do not go back to the days of St Patrick, fairly describe the state of things which existed about a thousand years ago. And from the character of the Irish tribal system, and the fact that it remained unaffected by outside influences, save those of religion, we may conclude that no very important change took place within it from the fifth to the ninth century.

Let us look back in fancy a thousand years, and picture to ourselves Ireland as it then was. It is all strange to us, this old Celtic land! The very face of Nature has largely changed since then. In those days the country, with slight exceptions, had not been enclosed. No green hedge-rows divided rich pasture or pleasant corn-fields. No broad roads or shady lanes intersected the plains. The wayfarer passed through scenery which resembled, on a small scale, the western wilds of America. The fertile land stretched away for miles in an unbroken prairie, grazed by small cattle and ponies. Only here and there were patches of cultivation around clusters of wicker-work cabins. Great tracts lay waste in barren mountain or moor-land, or were covered with primeval forest, where the deer, the wolf, and the wild boar roamed at will. The traveller journeyed along bridle-paths. The rivers were crossed at fords, or over rude bridges of hurdles. Amid such surroundings the Celtic tribal

system, in its essence the same as that of other Aryan peoples, was fully developed. The tribe, indeed, or larger group of men who claimed kinship with each other by alleged common descent, was rather a political than a social organization. It is in the sub-group, or sept, composed of men whose relationship was more unquestionable, that the elements of tribal society are to be traced. The members of each tribe belonged to distinct septs, each of which lived apart in a little territory of its own. The true members of the sept were freemen. But with it, though not held in strictness to form part of it, was associated an inferior class, known as base or unfree. Some members of this class were in the position of serfs; others might rather be called slaves. In it the older race, which the Celts had long before subdued, would find a natural place. The bondsmen lived upon the waste or border land which surrounded the richer portion of the sept-land. Within lay a range of common pasture, upon which every freeman might graze his cattle, and the general tillage-land, which was periodically divided in allotments. There were also separate holdings of family-land, occupied by wealthy tribesmen, and the distinct portion allotted to the use of the head of the sept. This person, who had been chosen by its other members, had special

privileges. He possessed a body of tenants, comprising, besides bondsmen, the poorer members of the sept, as well as fugitives from other tribes. He commonly supplied them with stock as well as land, claiming from them a rent in kind, which might be commuted for labour or service, or, in the case of bondsmen, for meat and drink for himself and his followers. Privileged as the head of the sept was, he was no more than its first freeman. He had only a life-interest in his private land, which, on his decease, passed, as a rule, not to his son, but to the eldest and worthiest of his sept. This social organization, though a precise one, was not without a certain elasticity. Members of the bondsmen class might, under favouring circumstances, acquire a tribal status. On the other hand, poor tribesmen might sink into the ranks of the bondsmen. The grandson of any full tribesman who had amassed a certain amount of wealth passed into a superior, or aristocratic, class, and might become the founder of a branch-sept. The head of each sept lived in a rude fortress, surrounded with a ditch and a rampart of earth or loose stones. The homesteads of the wealthy freemen lay within ordinary enclosures. The poorer members of the sept would occupy a hamlet. The bondsmen were placed, as has been said, on the outskirts of the sept-land.

The sept was self-governing, much as a modern parish or commune might manage its local affairs. But for political purposes the unit was the whole tribe. The tribe, or clan as it is sometimes vaguely called, consisting of a group of septs, the tribe-land was an aggregate of sept-lands, with the addition (often, no doubt, a large one) of the unoccupied land. The tribal chieftain, or petty king, was head of the most important sept in the tribe, and lived in a larger fortress, surrounded by a double rampart. His rank, though it did not usually descend to one of his children, was hereditary in his family. In his life-time one of his blood-relations, possessing the two qualifications of seniority and worthiness, was chosen by the tribesmen as his successor or tanist. To him passed the chieftain's demesne land along with the chieftainship. The power of a chieftain was at that time comparatively limited, his duties as well as his privileges being carefully defined by law and custom. But his authority was great, especially in critical times, when his tribesmen obeyed him implicitly as their military leader; and it tended to grow as time went on. He derived his revenue from fees and fines, as well as from his lands. His bard, his Brehon, or judge, and his physician had special shares set apart for them out of the tribe-land. He had many tenants, free as well as base, for he alone could impose a tenancy

on a free tribesman. Each tribe was internally independent, while externally it formed part of a larger political system. Several adjoining tribes, all claiming descent, as a rule, from a common ancestor, were united for mutual support in a group known as a great-tribe, under the supremacy of one of their chieftains. The great-tribes were again grouped, but much more loosely, so as to divide the whole country into provinces, under provincial chieftains or kings, of whom one claimed the title of High King or Monarch of Ireland.

The political institutions of the tribe, in harmony with the social organization of the sept, were not of a truly popular kind. The chieftain's action was controlled by the aristocratic class, and by the wealthier freemen; but the lower orders, free as well as base, had no political power. The tribal assemblies were, moreover, of a consultative or elective, not of a legislative or tax-imposing, character. The upper class alone were summoned to advise the chieftain in matters of policy. They and the representatives of the wealthy families of freemen elected the tanist in the tribal convention, and consecrated him on his accession to the chieftainship, in the sacred grove. The only really popular gathering, though it had no political basis, was that which has been rendered into English as

the "Fair." This was much more than a mere assemblage of buyers and sellers. The whole tribe met in some open place, hallowed by tradition. A fenced enclosure formed the women's quarter, where no man might intrude under pain of outlawry. Severe penalties, extending to death itself, were imposed on those who broke the public peace. There it was that the old laws were rehearsed and new ordinances were made public. There the chronicler repeated his anecdotes and genealogies, and the bard recited his lays, and contended with his brethren for the prize. The assembly was also entertained with dancing and juggling, with feats of arms and athletic contests. Such gatherings were the great land-marks in the life of the tribe, and, like the games of ancient Greece, supplied eras to its traditional history.

In spite of the non-democratic constitution of the tribe, it jealously preserved old customs of a democratic type. Enter the house of the head of a sept or of a wealthy freeman in ancient Ireland, and you would find no children playing at the hearth. They would be living with foster-parents, perhaps in some humble cabin within the tribe-land, perhaps, if sons of a chieftain, in a foreign tribe. The tie of fosterage even came to be considered more sacred than that which united parent and child. Men took refuge with their foster-parents when in diffi-

culties, and were bound to support them in their old age. The primitive spirit of tribal equality appeared in the general rule of succession to landed property. Family-land, unlike the demesne-land of the chieftains and heads of septs, passed to all the male issue alike, and was redivisible at intervals among the male descendants of the founder of the family, until a permanent division was made. In the course of time, female succession in default of male issue was introduced. On the other hand, the system of laws by which tribal justice was administered was based on social distinctions. At bottom it was the same as the codes of other Aryan peoples; but it was developed with all the subtlety and imagination of the Celtic mind. It contained, as a rule, no distinction between civil and criminal offences, and, indeed, scarcely recognised such a thing as a crime. In truth, there was as yet no State, in the true sense, to be aggrieved by crime or to punish it. The grievance was felt by the individual and his kinsmen, or, if he were a bondsman, by his lord; and for such a grievance compensation, as a substitute for vengeance, appeared sufficient. Compensation, therefore, for all kinds of injuries, from homicide to a sting from a neighbour's bee, was the great principle of the Brehon code. Every tribesman, according to his rank, had his *honour-price*, or rate of compensation for each cate-

gory of injuries. The witnesses were of two classes, the worthy and the unworthy, according to their rank and character. This distinction led to two ways of giving evidence. One accused person could rebut a charge by a simple oath of denial. Another had to produce a number of his kinsmen to swear to his innocence. Not only the culprit but his kinsfolk were liable for compensation for his wrongdoing. The Brehon expounded the law, but he had no machinery to enforce it, and his decisions depended for their acceptance on the reverence for his office and for old custom which prevailed among the tribesmen.

To form an idea of the social life of ancient Ireland, we may imagine ourselves present at a tribal feast in the fortress of one of the principal chieftains or petty kings. Hospitality is here esteemed a duty rather than a virtue. "He is no king," runs the old saying, "who does not distribute ale on Sunday." The space within the double rampart is large enough to contain seven hundred fighting men, the regular military force of the tribe. Those round cabins of wicker-work, with cup-shaped roofs thatched with straw, which we see clustered together like great bee-hives, form the various apartments of the chieftain's household. The one which stands upon an eminence, with ornamental roof thatched with the wings of birds, is the "sunny

chamber," the ladies' bower, where the wife and daughters of the chieftain sometimes sit with their embroidery. Yonder oblong building of wood is the banqueting hall, into which the guests are now pouring. Let us enter with them. We find the atmosphere thick and oppressive, for the blazing fire of logs or turf in the centre has no chimney above it, and the smoke must escape as it can through the door-way or other apertures. Near the fire a rush-light flickers. By the dim light we see that the walls are covered with matting, and hung with saddles and bridles, with the Celtic spear, the sword, and the formidable battle-axe. All around are placed couches, some of them adorned with silver and bronze, where each one sits according to his rank. At one end of the hall are the seats of the chieftain and his wife; and opposite to these that of the brawny champion, the great wrestler and warrior of the tribe. Against one of the walls stand the hostages of hostile tribes in chains. Those distinguished guests with whom the chieftain converses are the heads of the various septs, who form his council of wise men. He is attended by a body-guard of four men, whom he has redeemed from captivity, and who will cleave to him in life or death. His bard and Brehon are in attendance, and near him is a group of jesters and jugglers. The

male guests wear their hair clustering over the forehead and flowing behind to the shoulders. They are clad in the old national costume of the Celt, a many-coloured shirt reaching below the knees; a tunic tightened with a girdle; a mantle fastened at one of the shoulders with a golden brooch; shoes and hose of raw hide; a circlet of gold round the neck; bracelets on the arms and rings on the fingers. The long hair of the women is braided in tresses. A band of gold, crescent-shaped, on the forehead supports the flowing veil. Their dress resembles that of the men, only it reaches to the feet. They too are bedecked with golden ornaments. Their eye-lashes are stained with the black juice of the berry, and their lips are coloured a rich red. Wooden dishes of venison, goat's-flesh, and pork are served round to the guests, while cup-bearers present them with bowls of ale and mead. Those slaves with light blue eyes and flaxen hair, who speak together in a strange language, are of English birth, and have been sold into captivity by their own countrymen. The feast is enlivened by the music of the harp and the lay of the bard. The minstrel accompanies his instrument with his voice in a wild, yet strangely sweet and passionate, melody. The bard must know by rote many hundreds of ancient poems and tales to qualify

himself for his office. He tells of the fabled conquests and divisions of Ireland, and the wars of the heroes or demi-gods of paganism. His poetry is full of the grace and pathos, as well as the exuberant fancy and love of magic, which distinguish his race. As we listen we imagine ourselves in an enchanted land, peopled by supernatural beings. Women are surrounded by spells. Of one of them we hear that "Wounded men would sink to sleep, though ever so heavily pouring their blood, with the warbling of the fairy birds from the eaves of her bower." Warriors fight behind a veil of wonder and mystery. When one of them is about to vanquish his rival he swells to the size of a giant or a "man of the sea." When they close in combat we are told: "The Wild People of the glens screamed from the rims of their shields, and from the hilts of their swords, and from the hafts of their spears."

Comparing this view of the condition of ancient Ireland with that of Romanized lands, one sees at once that the state of things which Christianity had to face, on its introduction into the island, was utterly different from what the Church was familiar with elsewhere. She had been accustomed to a vast society, looking to one centre, and united by the bond of a common citizenship. When the

rude German tribes broke into this society, they recoiled before the majestic countenance of the Church, acknowledged her as the champion of the conquered people, and, in the end, bowed to her religious dominion. She alone of all the authorities of old Rome was unshaken by its fall. Nay, she won a wider reverence and power from the bold stand which she made on behalf of civilization and humanity. But when the Church of the West penetrated through her missionaries into Ireland, she came into contact, not with a centralized, cultivated society, governed by a highly-wrought system of laws, such as she had known, but with a primitive society, split up into groups, disturbed by constant strife, and merely acknowledging the tie of common customs and a common language. She who had grown among Roman municipal institutions, who had made the administrative divisions of the Empire her own, and consecrated them to the use of religion, came into a country where there were no regular towns, nothing which resembled in the remotest degree the Roman system of provincial government. To change the order of things which she found existing was impossible, except through a material conquest. The primitive society with which she came face to face had in it nothing mutable or pliant. It had no progressive or law-making

spirit like the Roman one. Reform could find no place in a society where every old custom was held sacred. Its institutions had long since hardened into a permanent shape. What could the Church do in such an emergency? If she addressed herself to chieftains, they might tell her that they wished her well, but that she must accept the Celtic institutions as they did themselves. If she spoke to private tribesmen, they might individually devote themselves to her service, but they could never combine with her to overthrow a system outside of which they had no conception of lay society. The strength of the traditional tie, the sentiment of kinship held men, as it were, spell-bound. The Church must only do what she could with the materials which she found to her hand. She must build upon a Celtic basis, for she could find no other.

And so, accordingly, it happened. The Church took things as she found them, and made the best of them. We do not know if any early missionary in Ireland owed his failure to unwillingness to accept the tribal system as the basis of ecclesiastical organization. What is certain is that, when once that system was accepted, Christianity spread with wonderful rapidity. There is hardly a parallel in history to the enthusiasm with which a whole people, so conservative in its temperament, embraced the

new faith, without any external pressure. The old paganism, no doubt, died harder than appears on the surface ; and, even when it was apparently dead, many of its superstitions lingered on in spirit-lore and fairy legend, as well as in old customs, some of which have survived to our own day. But at the first onset Christianity was victorious, and could take the place of its rival. How, then, did it appear as a new force in Celtic society ?

What happened at first was probably something like this. A missionary converted the chieftain and heads of the septs, and after them the tribesmen. He would then obtain a grant out of the unoccupied land, as if for a new sept-land. Sometimes a whole sept, through its head, would present its land to the missionary. In either case the latter became the head of a semi-religious community. After the fashion of the country he built himself a hut of wicker-work or uncemented stones, according as he lived in the neighbourhood of forest or rock. Around him settled his disciples and servants. Many men and women of the tribe gave themselves, under his guidance, to a life of devotion. Here we have no real resemblance to the parochial or diocesan system. The priesthood was not scattered but concentrated. The bishops seem, as a rule, to have exercised no regular diocesan jurisdiction. The religious influence was focussed in the ecclesiastical

settlement. It was a religious oasis, a centre of peace, a seat of ecclesiastical civilization in the heart of the wild tribe. But even the ecclesiastical sept had its secular aspect. Its head was lord as well as priest. Besides his clerical companions and dependents, he would have to do with the different lay classes in a sept, with freemen and bondsmen. When he died, the Celtic rule of succession would apply as far as possible. The tribal law did not, of course, recognize anything in the nature of a corporate body or college in the Roman sense. The new head would therefore, be selected, like the abbot of a later date, from the family of the founder, or, in default of a suitable person from that source, from the tribe on whose land the religious settlement had been made. Only if both these sources failed would he be chosen, independently of blood relationship, from the spiritual family, the religious body itself. This organization of the Irish Church, from the beginning of a quasi-monastic type, naturally favoured regular monasticism, which passed into Ireland from Britain and the Continent. Monasteries arose on all sides, especially in secluded spots, such as valleys and islands. Many of the old religious septs would probably come under the monastic rule. A few simple buildings in the Celtic style supplied the needs of the monks, who, clad in white tunic and hood, fasted, prayed, and laboured in the fields.

Gradually they improved agriculture, and introduced bee-hives and foreign plants. The colonies which went forth from a monastic settlement remained subordinate to it, as offshoots from a tribe. Men who aimed at a still more ascetic form of religious life became hermits or solitaries in the wastes, and these alone seem to have been released from the grasp of Celtic tribalism.

Each religious settlement built itself a church, a small oblong building of wood or loose stones. In the monastic period the use of mortar was introduced, regular masonry began to be constructed, and at length the round arch appeared. In the stone churches might, after a time, be discerned the germs of a national development of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Continent. Interlacing ornament, of foreign origin, became a characteristic Irish design, and, together with the native Celtic spiral, gave expression in stone to the subtle character of Irish artistic feeling. Not till some centuries after Ireland's conversion arose the tapering round-tower or belfry, built on a Continental model, and the decorated type of Celtic cross, covered with quaint carvings from Scripture history. The early Irish ecclesiastical artists chiefly employed their skill in the illumination of manuscripts. It was they who really developed the national decorative art, in which geometrical forms

and even the shapes of living things became subsidiary to the favourite coils and interlacings. This Celtic partiality for delicate lines and curves was carried into the ecclesiastical metal-work, the elegant chalices and reliquaries, enamelled and inlaid with precious stones. The Church, the mother of these new arts, also gave birth to a new learning. Here again she was bound to respect Celtic tradition; and the study of Irish poetry and law went hand in hand with the wider knowledge which Christianity introduced. A school was opened in the ecclesiastical settlement, where grammar, science, and philosophy were taught for the first time. In some places a regular academic course, extending over as many as twelve years, is said to have been established, and a staff of professors appointed. The fame of the Irish schools quickly spread to the Continent, where learning was then at a low ebb, and crowds of foreign students flocked to Ireland, where they were gratuitously supplied with books and food. In these primitive universities the study of the vulgar tongue and the national literature probably fell into the back-ground. At least, the Irish scholars who went abroad were distinguished for a cosmopolitan learning. Many were skilled in the composition of Latin verses. Some were acquainted with the Greek language, a rare accomplishment north of

the Alps. An Irish missionary in Germany taught the existence of the Antipodes. Irish scholars in their use of the dialectical method and their application of it to theology anticipated the scholastic philosophy. Such learning, at so dark a period, fastened men's eyes on the mysterious island, which, from a state of isolation, had suddenly appeared in the van of intellectual movement in Europe.

When we inquire what influence this ecclesiastical civilization had over the ordinary Irish layman, we realize how restricted it was. The people had adopted Christianity, understanding that their tribal institutions should remain unchanged. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that those institutions, based on the principle of kinship, were incompatible with civil progress. In these circumstances the Church could but slightly influence the civil order. She could not take in Ireland the place she afterwards took in Anglo-Saxon England, where more intimate social relations with the Continent and a less sentimentally conservative national character made the English tribal system more pliable than the Irish one. Irish bishops had no such position in tribal courts and councils as the English prelates. The Church was unable to graft her ecclesiastical law on the law of the Irish tribe as she could on that of the English one. What she

could do was to impart her civilization to such as were willing to give themselves up to her service. Thus, she founded and fostered an ecclesiastical civilization in the religious settlements which were scattered over Ireland. In this way there came to be what, from the sharp distinction in their ideals, may perhaps be called two Irelands. There was, on the one hand, the lay Ireland, which accepted Christianity, organized in Celtic fashion, and acknowledged its moral influence, but clung stubbornly to old ways and customs. On the other hand, there was an ecclesiastical Ireland, which aimed at a different mode of life, derived from abroad, and cultivated foreign arts and a foreign language. Accordingly, after Ireland had become Christian, its lay life went on in some ways very much as before. Society continued to be distracted by constant warfare. The Church might, indeed, persuade the individual layman to lead a life of peace; but, in that case, he passed out of the normal life of his tribe. He gave up his lay sept to join a religious one. He went from secular into ecclesiastical Ireland. Collectively the laymen were, no doubt, induced to modify some of their primitive laws and customs in a Christian sense. But even here the influence of the Church was hampered. If, for instance, she held up before them the Christian view of marriage, the Brehon

was at hand to declare the conditions under which irregularities had been condoned by his traditional law. If she strove to have certain offences punished as crimes, she would be told that compensation had always been deemed sufficient for every kind of injury. We can well imagine that she found it hard to enforce her penitential discipline, so needful in such a state of society, among men who revered tribal traditions as did the Irish Celts. Even the new relations which she introduced were brought, whenever possible, under the sanction of Celtic ideas. Gossipred, or the spiritual relationship created by sponsorship at Baptism, was developed into a sort of artificial kinship, which, like fosterage, served to strengthen the fundamental principle of Irish society. As for the foreign literature and arts of the ecclesiastic, they were of little consequence to the typical layman. Monks might pore over Latin books, illuminate manuscripts, trace new designs in stone or metal-work. Had he not his bard to recite old lays in his own tongue, his artificers to make him pure Celtic ornaments, his women to weave and embroider his national dress? What need had he of anything new? No shadow of a doubt as to his mode of life, no faintest wish for change seems to have ever crossed his mind.

It appears, then, that the early Christian civiliza-

tion of Ireland was a strictly ecclesiastical one. Being confined to a relatively small, and a peaceful class in a warlike community, it would naturally be exposed to great danger from the growth of a secularizing spirit, or an invasion of pagans. Both of these things were only too likely to take place in the course of time. When the first ardour of conversion had cooled, the rule of succession by kinship to the office of head of the religious settlement held out a constant temptation to lay intrusion on the plea of family right. Against such a tendency the Church, by her very constitution, could hardly act with effect. Organized on the Celtic system, she was bound to fall more and more under tribal influences. Without a strong, centralized government of her own, she could never assume towards the lay power the attitude which became a daughter of the Latin Church. At the same time her peculiar organization deprived her of active support from abroad. Her insular spirit gave undue importance to local varieties of religious discipline, and hampered her relations with the rest of Christendom. On the other hand, external enemies could not fail to appear in the long run. For centuries Ireland had enjoyed a singular immunity from invasion. The Roman legions had paused on the opposite shore. When they retired from Britain, the British Celts, brought to bay in the

west, formed a line of defence for their Irish kinsmen against the pagan English. But a second wave of Teutonic invasion began to gather. The spell of Irish security was at length to be broken. The old Celtic life, so simple, so lonely, so self-sufficient, was about to come rudely in contact with the ways of other men. Let us take a glance at the character of the invaders who at length set foot upon Irish soil.

A great part of the Scandinavian peninsulas had been occupied by a branch of the Teutonic race, which had driven out or enslaved the pre-historic inhabitants. In this land of inlets and islands, of lakes and mountains, the settlers thrived apace, and the strong, if somewhat sluggish, Teutonic nature seemed to expand amid such surroundings. The influence of Nature in her austere form is traceable in their religion. Their primitive worship was developed into a mythology which, while wanting the grace of the Celtic one, was distinguished by a stern beauty, and the lessons of patience and obedience which it conveyed. The same Hebrew spirit pervaded the popular poetry. The songs and sagas of the north had a bald, rugged majesty, which contrasted strongly with the fancy and colour of the Celtic lays. For the rest, the Teuton of Scandinavia did not differ widely from his kinsman in Germany. He cherished his personal liberty, and looked with

barbaric scorn on men of foreign speech and manners. Free from the overweening vanity which characterized the Celt, he was dominated by the cold Teutonic pride. He too had his tribal institutions, to which he was strongly, yet soberly attached. To him the principle of kinship had a practical value, enhanced by tradition, but without the halo of fancy and sentiment which the Celtic imagination drew around it. He had, in spite of his warlike habits, strong commercial instincts, in which the Celt was lacking, and could quickly pass from the life of a warrior to that of a trader. What chiefly distinguished the Scandinavian from the German tribes was a love of sea-life, and a more elastic and impressionable temperament, qualities which marked them out for rovers and colonists.

It was natural that a race so bold and self-reliant should grow weary of dwelling on a barren soil, among the snows of the north. The inhabitants of Denmark were the first to obey the new impulse, and make their way to foreign shores. They were soon followed by their kinsmen who dwelt on the broken and craggy coast of Norway. The aim of these first sea-rovers was rather pillage than conquest. Towards the end of the eighth century they appeared on the coasts of Britain, plundering and burning the shrines and hamlets by the sea. A few years later an Irish island met with a similar

fate. Thenceforth hardly a year passed without a descent of the Northmen on the Irish shores. The monasteries around the coast were plundered, and the monks massacred, or carried off as slaves. Growing bolder, the pirates banded themselves together in larger bodies, and sailed in their flat-bottomed boats up the rivers into the heart of the country. If they were repulsed, they returned in greater force, to devastate the scattered centres of civilization. They even became strong enough to establish themselves at the mouths of rivers, and in inland districts. At last the natives, recovering from the first shock of the invasion, turned fiercely upon them. As soon as they put forth their real strength, they drove the Northmen from the interior of the island. But the latter were able to maintain themselves in some of the best positions on the coasts, where they founded regular sea-port towns.

As time went on, the Northmen, or, as they came to be indiscriminately called, the Danes, fell more or less under native influences. They gradually became Christian, occasionally intermarried with the Irish, and took an active part in internal disputes and warfare. They also devoted themselves with success to the arts of peace. Their natural taste for commerce and a sea-faring life brought them into contact with traders abroad, and raised their standard of material civilization above that of the

Irish Celts. Nearly all the trade between Ireland and foreign countries fell into their hands. They established a coinage, a new thing in Ireland. Their towns, unlike those of the natives, were surrounded with regular walls. They continued to keep up a constant communication with their kinsmen in Britain and the Isles, and even in Scandinavia and Iceland. And once again they joined with their countrymen abroad to attempt the conquest of Ireland. But they had now to face a formidable enemy in the greatest Irish chieftain who had yet appeared. This was Brian, King of North Munster, a man who seems to have had political and military talents of a high order. His career was marked by an originality and a boldness which excited the imagination of a people ever ready to follow a strong leader. He crushed the Danes of Limerick in battle, and sacked their thriving settlement on the Shannon. He defeated King Sitric of Dublin, and entered his town in triumph. He subdued all his Celtic rivals, and got himself proclaimed High King, thus breaking through the traditional custom which confined that dignity to the royal race of the North. He married his children to foreigners, in spite of the insular prejudices of his people. Here, one might imagine, was the man to make a nation out of Celtic Ireland. Yet when he died in old age at the battle of Clontarf, repelling a great host of Scandinavians,

he left behind him no strong dynasty, handed down no true idea of Irish nationality. Such a change could only be made by modifying the tribal system, a thing which, bold as he was, he never contemplated doing. It seemed as if Ireland could not be united from within. Some external power was apparently needed to mould the groups of kinsfolk into one mass, and form an Irish nation.

Less than ever could such an influence be exercised by the Church. She had received a crushing blow from the hands of the Northmen. Many of the monks who escaped their pagan fury fled to the Continent, bringing with them such manuscripts and other treasures as they had been able to save. These fugitives followed in the track of the early missionaries, who had made the fame of Ireland so great abroad. They completed the first exodus—which may be called the ecclesiastical one—of Irishmen from their own country. With them went the old reputation for piety and learning which Ireland had enjoyed since her conversion to Christianity. Nothing shows more clearly the weakness of the Celtic Church than the fact that she apparently took no prominent part in encouraging resistance to the heathen invader. As a body of religious septs, she seems to have relied passively on the lay tribesmen to defend her cause. If they failed her, her ministers fled into the wilds, or emigrated to foreign

lands. The difference between the timid attitude of the Irish Church in those days and the spirit with which she faced persecution in later times, measures the difference between Celtic and Latin ecclesiastical organization. On their side, the lay families, released in a great measure from religious restraints, fell back into the old greed of paganism. Laymen seized the Church lands and intruded themselves into abbacies, on the plea of succession by kinship. The old pagan licence in morals seems to have broken out afresh. Large districts of Celtic Ireland became, in fact, demoralized. It would, however, be an error to suppose that the invasions of the Northmen completely swept away the ecclesiastical settlements and their civilization. In remote spots some clearly survived. Others were re-established after the retreat of the enemy, and new lands were sometimes purchased from the laity. Indeed, some of the most striking remains of old Irish art—highly-wrought metal-work, sculptured crosses, richly decorated churches of an Irish type of Romanesque—belong to the period of Scandinavian invasions and settlements. The round-tower does not seem to have been built for a century after the first attacks of the heathen against whom it served as a refuge. But the decline of religion and learning date from this period. The low moral tone which now began to prevail in Ireland shocked

religious minds abroad, in proportion as her old fame for sanctity had edified them. It was clear to all such men that she needed a reformer.

At length an Irish ecclesiastic came forward who, although bred in Ireland, fully realized the weakness of the Celtic organization as compared with the Roman one. The natural development of Papal administration which had taken place in Christendom since the conversion of Ireland, gave St Malachy an advantage in his struggle against tribal ideas, which the early missionaries had not enjoyed. The Norman conquest of England had produced a religious revival there, a wave of which spread to Ireland. The see of Canterbury put itself in communication with Irish, as well as Dano-Irish bishops. The Danish clergy of Ireland acknowledged its supremacy, and their bishops (some of whom were of Celtic blood) were consecrated in England. Even among lay Irishmen there were, doubtless, some who perceived that the Celtic organization of their Church had broken down. Under these circumstances St Malachy set about his task of reform in the north. He did not attempt to change the monastic character of the Irish Church. He was himself a monk, and remained devoted to the monastic life after he had been raised to the episcopate. Apart from this, his aim was uniformity in every detail of discipline with the great body of

the Western Church. With this view he strove to abolish such peculiarities of ritual as existed in Ireland. He went to Rome in quest of palls for the Irish archbishops. He brought over a foreign order of monks from France. He waged war with the abuses of ecclesiastical succession, which had humiliated the Irish Church. The primatial see of Armagh had been for two centuries in the possession of members of a single family, of whom more than half were laymen. Malachy broke through Celtic custom by becoming archbishop himself, and retired after three years, when he saw his work there was successful. The reformer passed away, but the spirit which he had kindled survived him. The reorganization of the Irish Church went on. A few years after his death, the presence of an Italian cardinal as Papal legate at an Irish synod proclaimed the downfall of the Celtic system. It was now that the Church lost its distinctive monastic character. The tribal bishop now obtained unhampered jurisdiction. Under him arose for the first time a real parochial priesthood. The Dano-Irish Church was incorporated with the Celtic one. Ecclesiastical architecture began about this time to take a new form, and the foreign Gothic style came into Ireland with the foreign monks. The partial isolation of the Irish Church was at an end. It might seem as if, freed from the fetters of

tribalism, she would, like her English sister, re-organize lay society, and become the mother of a new state. Through her, the great Roman ideas of order and unity might be expected to penetrate gradually into the lay mind.

At the close of this period, let us take a retrospective glance. We find a branch of the Celtic race mingled with older inhabitants in a remote island of western Europe. We see prevailing among them a primitive system of society, by which men are separated into groups of kinsmen, or supposed kinsmen. The claims and obligations of kinship form the framework of law and custom. Presently a new force—Christianity—begins to act on the tribal society. Morally, the tribe is quickly influenced by it; politically, it remains unaffected. Nay the Church herself, in her organization, has to accept tribal ideas. She becomes an aggregate of religious families with their dependents. In her ecclesiastical settlements she develops a civilization of her own, drawn from the wreck of the Roman one, which her mighty mother, the Latin Church, has done so much to preserve. Her learning shines forth in the midst of intellectual darkness in western Europe. But she does not spread her civilization among the laymen, whose tradition is to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. And by degrees, though only distinguished by a few points of dis-

cipline or practice from the rest of the Western Church, she becomes somewhat isolated. She is penetrated with the Celtic idea of kinship, to the prejudice of the broad Roman one of humanity. Thus her position is weak, and her influence tends to wane. Then an unlooked-for thing happens to the Irish Celt. For the first time a regular invader appears on Irish soil. Pagan warriors from over seas descend on the coasts, and sail up the rivers. At first they are everywhere victorious; they pillage and rule far and wide. The tribal system, the want of national unity prevents effective resistance on the part of the natives. But after a time they combine sufficiently to drive the Northmen back to the river mouths. The Celtic spirit soars up again as strong as ever; but the influence of religion and the old ecclesiastical learning have sadly declined. At last the Church is re-organized on the Roman system. The great Celtic idea, the principle of kinship, ceases to be distinctive of her constitution. There are, therefore, three forces acting on Irish society at the end of this period. First, there is the original one, the tribal system, which remains essentially the same as it was centuries before, except that the invasions of the Northmen, and, to a certain extent, the lapse of time have tended to increase the power of the chieftains, and depress the condition of the ordinary tribesmen. Secondly, there is the Church,

lacking indeed her old prestige, but established on a firmer footing than before, and in closer touch with the centre of Christian civilization. Lastly, there is the foreign force, that of the Northmen or Danes, who have made permanent settlements at the sea-ports in the south and east, gathered the foreign trade into their hands, adopted Christianity, and opened relations with the rising kingdom of England, which lies so near.

CHAPTER II

MEDIÆVAL IRELAND

THE new state of things in Ireland, brought about by the Scandinavian settlement and the reforms in the Irish Church, had not had time to act, in so far as it might have acted, upon the tribal system, when another external force came with a shock against the fabric of old Irish society. For while the Irish tribes remained disunited as before, a new people had sprung up in the west of Europe. From the province which Charles the Simple had granted to Rolf, the sea-rover, came forth a conquering race, of Scandinavian origin, but speaking the language and following the customs of the Latinized Gauls, who had become subject to them. Some of these adventurers found their way beyond the Alps, and, few though they were, wrested South Italy and Sicily from the Greek and Saracen. But their greatest conquest was achieved nearer home. In the latter part of the eleventh century the Duke of Normandy became King of England. Soon Norman

nobles thronged over the Scottish border, and by their valour and address won grants of land and dignities from the King of Scots. Another troop of knights burst into Wales, and built themselves strongholds in the southern plains and valleys. These Normans, while retaining the bold Norse spirit, had absorbed what was best in the character and civilization of their French neighbours and vassals. Upon the parent stock of Teutonic vigour and independence they had ingrafted the Celtic grace and ardour, and the Roman grandeur of aims and power of government. This combination of qualities left them without rivals in war or peace. They went to battle clad in shirts of mail, the old defensive armour of their race, but to such hereditary devices they joined all the military improvements and tactics of Western Europe. Irresistible in the field, they were no less famed as statesmen and diplomatists at the council-board. Their keen and practical intellect was shown in the system of laws and administration which they developed for the peoples whom they governed. In the halls of their massive castles was fostered a school of poetry, which, though of a sterner cast, was deemed to rival the songs of the southern troubadours. They were among the most zealous of the sons of the Church, and built temples to celebrate their victories—edifices of a simple

grandeur, breathing somewhat of the spirit of the old sagas. In a word, all the influences, civil, military, and religious, which stirred men's minds in those days, had so wrought upon the old Norse nature in France, as to make of the Norman ruling class the kingliest race which the world had ever seen.

In England these Normans long continued a distinct people, ruling in virtue of conquest and superior civilization over the English townsman and farmer. The Norman noble or prelate displaced the English one, as the Norman Duke took the English crown. The feudal system took root the more readily as English society was already in a semi-feudal state at the time of the Conquest. The neighbourhood of the Continent, the intimacy of the English and Frankish courts, and, above all, the influence of the Church, organized on the Roman model, had long since weakened the tribal spirit, and established a social and political system approaching to that which prevailed abroad. Continental influence had continued to increase, and French ideas were rife at the court of the half-Norman Edward the Confessor. Hence, when the Normans settled in England they could leave the framework of the English institutions almost intact, simply fitting into it new ones of their own. That such a race of

statesmen and warriors should turn their eyes to the neighbouring island and look forward to a conquest of Ireland was but natural. But such a conquest was a very different undertaking from what that of England had been. In Ireland there was still a primitive tribal system, and therefore no central authority on which to seize; no regular king to strike down, as they had struck down Harold at Senlac; no national council, like the Witan, to win over to the side of the conqueror. On such a form of society feudal institutions could not be successfully grafted, as they had been on the English one. Moreover, in Ireland there were no inland boroughs, as there were in England, which could be used as garrison-centres to overawe the surrounding districts, or trade-centres to complete their pacification through commerce. Thus, while England had been overcome in a few campaigns and easily organized, Ireland would have to be conquered, and settled in detail. And whereas England, once conquered, was submissive, because it is in the Teutonic nature stoically to accept defeat, the Celtic tribes of Ireland might for the moment bow their heads to superior force, only to lift them again at the earliest opportunity.

Nevertheless, if the conquest of Ireland were undertaken by the Normans with the same re-

solution as they had shown in that of England, the result was bound in the long run to be the same. But when they at length invaded the lesser island, they did so, not in the way they had invaded England, but rather as they had invaded Wales. That little Celtic country was in a state very like that of Ireland. Its society was founded on kinship, and composed of hostile tribes without any central government. Its Church, though never organized on the tribal model, was pervaded by the tribal spirit. Its laws and customs closely resembled those of Ireland. Owing little more than nominal obedience to the English Crown, and in its wilder parts almost inaccessible to invaders, it had not passed at the Conquest under the government of the Norman kings. The latter, finding it no easy task to reduce it to subjection, encouraged their barons and knights to conquer it piecemeal, by allowing them to keep possession of such Welsh lands as they could win with the sword. In this way arose a number of lords of the Welsh marches, settlers in the eastern and southern parts of Wales, who ruled like petty princes in their territories, and sometimes formed ties of relationship with the native chieftains. This mode of settlement was practically taken as a precedent in the invasion of Ireland; and it was the Normans of South Wales who, in fact,

conducted that invasion. An Irish exile, Dermot, provincial chieftain, or king as he was styled, of Leinster, visited Henry II. in France, and offered him his allegiance if he would restore him to his chieftainship. Henry accepted his proposal, and Dermot, hastening back to England, found, as he expected, the Welsh-Normans eager for adventure. One of them, Richard de Clare, a nobleman of broken fortunes, made his own bargain with the chieftain, who, in return for his assistance promised him the hand of his daughter and, in defiance of tribal law, the succession to the Kingdom of Leinster. A motley little force of various nationalities under Norman leadership easily restored him to his dominions. The Normans themselves, mounted on mail-clad chargers, formed the first body of regular cavalry ever seen in Ireland. Wherever the nature of the ground permitted them to act, they at once broke the ranks of the natives. The Danes of Wexford, remote kinsmen of these Norman horsemen, did not dare to face them in the field, but retired to their town, which was captured after a stout resistance. The Danish towns of Waterford and Dublin went the way of Wexford. The Celtic resistance to such an enemy was, as might be expected, weak and unavailing. The chieftains of Ulster stood altogether aloof. On the other hand the King of Connaught, who was also titular King

of Ireland, collected an army and marched on Dublin, while the fugitive Danes returned and attacked the city by sea. But the latter were repulsed; and the Irish, bare-breasted, and armed with darts and axes, were no match for the Norman cavalry and the trained English and Welsh archers and swordsmen. They were surprised, and fled panic-stricken before a sortie of the little garrison. Dermot, flushed with success, now aimed at the kingship of Ireland; but, dying soon afterwards he transmitted his power and ambitions to his Norman son-in-law, who took the title of Earl of Leinster.

The signal success of the invasion was little to the taste of the King of England. He feared lest his bold subjects, elated with victory, should forget their allegiance, and set up independent rule in Ireland. The Welsh-Norman leaders were reprimanded for acting without royal warrant, and Earl Richard had to give up Dublin and the other coast towns of Leinster to his sovereign, as well as the fortresses which he had won. He held the remainder of his conquests, not as successor to Dermot, but by a grant which he obtained from Henry. The latter crossed with an imposing force to Waterford, where he showed his displeasure with one of the conquerors by throwing him into prison. The opposition of the Irish Church, the only body in Ireland which could have attempted to unite the natives, was disarmed

by the promulgation of a Papal Bull sanctioning the invasion. This Bull had been obtained seventeen years before from Adrian IV., himself an Englishman, who wished to extend to Ireland the foreign influence which had revived religion in England. In making use of Henry for this purpose he followed the example of his predecessor, who had encouraged the Conqueror to claim the English crown. The chieftains of the south came to pay homage to the English King; but those of Ulster seemed resolved neither by opposition nor friendship to recognise the presence of the invaders. The most important submission was that of Roderick, the High King, who in the end made a regular treaty with Henry, acknowledging him as his lord, and agreeing to pay him tribute. On his part, Henry recognized Roderick as a vassal-king, though he never took the royal title himself in connection with Ireland. He seems to have merely claimed an over-lordship over the great chieftains, while he regarded the settlers as his subjects in a strange land. Thus the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland was in accordance with the precedent of Wales.

But such an arrangement was not in its nature a permanent one. Invaders and invaded looked at it from quite different stand-points. There was, in truth, no harmony between Celtic and Norman ideas, between tribal and feudal principles. The position

which Henry II. claimed was one which the Irish not only did not acknowledge, but which they could not even understand. To them the notion that all the land of Ireland might belong to one man, whether native or foreigner, to grant out as he pleased to individuals without regard to tribal rights or the principle of kinship, was simply incomprehensible. The king and his counsellors, on the other hand, were so permeated with the spirit of feudalism, that they could not think of treating with the Irish chieftains except as owners of their tribal lands. Therefore the homage of the chieftains, which to Henry conveyed an acknowledgment of feudal tenure, meant nothing to them but the recognition of a foreign power which they dreaded. Apart from such discordance of ideas, it was inconceivable that either native or settler would abide by an arrangement which deprived the former of some of his richest lands, while it left the latter without others which he coveted. The Celt was cowed, but still unconquered. The Norman was enriched, but not yet satisfied. Even if the English King's own inclination were to keep faith with the natives, and to leave them in possession of the lands which he had confirmed to them, he was not likely to resist the pressure put upon him by his favourites, to whom he had committed the government of his new dominions.

Accordingly, almost the whole soil of Ireland was given away in grants to a few persons. There was no pretence of forfeiture of the lands which had been left to the natives. Their rights were merely ignored. Among them were tribes which had sided with the Anglo-Normans from the beginning, and contributed to their success. If, through Celtic resistance, the new landowners did not obtain all they claimed, each took as much as he could easily conquer, and divided it by sub-grants among his followers. The most fertile plains and valleys of the south and east soon passed into the hands of Normans and Frenchmen, while the former owners retired to the neighbouring woods and wilds, where they remained independent, or, if hard pressed, paid tribute to their conquerors. In the districts where the invaders settled, the feudal society took the place of the tribal one. The sept-land became a manor, the lesser tribe-land a barony, the territory of the greater tribe a county or earldom. In place of the buildings of wood or wattles, defended by earthen ramparts, arose the great stone keep, enclosed by high walls and towers. The humble Celtic monastery was succeeded by the stately mediæval abbey. In Church architecture the Irish Romanesque finally gave way to the pointed Gothic. County and manorial courts replaced the tribal ones, and a rigorous system of criminal law superseded

the Brehon's scale of compensation. Norman and English freeholders assembled in court baron, to enact by-laws or give feudal aids to their lords, as the freemen of an Irish tribe had met in convention, to elect a tanist or do other tribal business. One class indeed, and that the largest one, remained in most places unchanged, that of shepherds and tillers of the soil. They were indispensable to the new landowners, since there must have been few of that class among the colonists; and Irish peasants, who had at first been expelled, or fled with their cattle, were invited back to re-stock and cultivate the deserted lands. Many of them would never have enjoyed tribal rights, so that for such the position of villeins, in which, as aliens, they found themselves under their new lords, would not be in itself a great change. They retained the Irish name of "purveyors," or payers of food-rent, with, probably, some incidents of the Irish customary tenure. By degrees, more and more of the Irish soil passed into the hands of the invaders, until they occupied the fairest districts of Munster, Leinster, and Meath, the eastern coast of Ulster, and the central parts of Connaught.

If the new influence in the rural parts of Ireland was mainly a Norman one, it was otherwise with the towns. Those that already existed were, as we have seen, Danish, not Irish. Their Scandi-

navian inhabitants were treated very differently from the natives. They were accepted as the King's subjects, became English citizens, and were gradually absorbed by the new colonists. It was through these towns that the English element, strictly so called, became a force in Ireland. The Norman settlers were mostly landowners, not traders, and left Irish commerce in the hands of Englishmen. Dublin, the old Danish centre, became naturally the chief city of the English. Bristol, from whose port bands of slaves had once been shipped to Ireland, now sent over a troop of citizens to transplant her privileges to the banks of the Liffey. Besides the English settlements in the old Danish coast towns, the Norman lords in the interior founded boroughs and gave them charters. In these colonial towns an Irish population of labourers commonly found employment, but its residence was in a village outside the walls. Within might be discerned all the characteristics of the borough life of England—the burgesses and freemen, the merchant and craft-guilds, the incessant struggle for new privileges and immunities, the quaint by-laws and customs. The citizen himself was the ordinary Englishman of the day, essentially the same as the modern one, but not yet fully developed in character, and still a member of a subordinate race. Sprung from the Low-German branch of the Teutonic family, with

a blend of British blood in the west and of Scandinavian in the east of England, he was, like his predecessor in Ireland, the Northman or Dane, proud, independent, and enterprising by sea. But his temperament was less versatile and impressionable than the Danish, and his sympathies more narrow. To him from the first the Irish Celt appeared a natural enemy, with whom he could never come to terms. Cool-headed, practical, a born trader and merchant, the new citizen of Dublin or Cork could not understand or excuse the tribal sentiment, the restless, improvident tribal life. Some such life, indeed, his own ancestors had led centuries before, but of this he retained no tradition. On the other hand, the Irishman despised the plodding industry of the Englishman, as much as he admired the masterful energy of the Norman, who domineered over both.

The political and legal organization of the Anglo-Norman settlement was naturally a copy of that of England, and kept pace with its development. The executive power was vested in a governor, at first known as Justiciary, afterwards as Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy. He was assisted, and in a measure controlled, by a council, which came to be composed of a Treasurer, a Chancellor, and the chief judges, with a few prominent nobles. When the Crown needed money, a greater council, like the English

one, consisting of churchmen, barons, and burgesses, was summoned. The settlers did not yield in independence to their kinsmen in England, and the Great Charter of King John was soon extended to Ireland. After regular Parliaments with representatives of freeholders and burgesses had begun to be held in England, the practice was imitated in Ireland, where a parliament arose on the English model, whose consent was necessary to the raising of subsidies, and which passed special laws for the colonists. The great hereditary offices of England were reproduced. Constable and Marshal, Seneschal and Chamberlain, Butler and Standard-bearer were appointed to serve his Majesty beyond the Irish Sea. A legal establishment, with Dublin as its centre, dispensed justice according to the Common Law of England. Sheriffs presided in county courts, juries were impanelled, and itinerant justices travelled from town to town. So far as outward forms went, the organization of the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland was almost identical with that of the parent-state. But the practical effects of such institutions in two communities so differently circumstanced were necessarily widely different. The Crown, which was the focus of the feudal system in England, had little direct power in Ireland. There it never came into real contact with the people, even in the Anglo-Norman settlement.

There was no parallel to the oath of fealty sworn by English freemen to William the Conqueror, and even by English villeins to Henry II. A national militia, such as the English one, which could be used as a counterpoise to the military power of the nobles, was wholly wanting. The great Norman and French lords held their Irish possessions in compact territories, not, as in England, in scattered manors. Even the lands and revenues at first reserved to the Crown passed, for the most part, by grant or encroachment into the hands of its powerful subjects. In fact, the Irish feudal system, though introduced from England, resembled, in its broad features, the French or Scottish, rather than the English one. It differed from that which the lords marcher had set up in Wales, in that in Ireland the great nobles ruled over far larger districts, and therefore possessed much greater power. Two-thirds of the Anglo-Norman territories came eventually to be held in counties palatine, whose rulers lived like independent princes, creating barons and knights, and holding their own courts of justice. The royal writ ceased to run, except in the coast-settlements and Church lands. Powerless to exercise effective control over their vassals, the English kings looked round for an ally. But the burgess class was far smaller than in England, as well as less independent of the nobles; and the natives, who

did not rank as citizens, were unwilling or unable to support an absent king [against their dreaded neighbours, his powerful vassals. In vain did the Crown open direct relations with the lesser nobility of the colony, and encourage them to resist their feudal superiors, as the latter resisted their lord. There was, in truth, no support on which the King could rely, because he lacked intrinsic power. On the whole, it seems that the condition of Ireland rendered impossible there a system of government such as, by balancing different interests in the State, developed the strength and liberties of mediæval England.

In religious, as in lay matters, the invaders brought with them their own customs and policy. Wherever their influence prevailed, the feudal prelate took the place of the tribal bishop. The revised Canon Law and the ecclesiastical courts were introduced. Dean and Chapter, Chancellor and Treasurer, names hitherto unknown in the Irish Church, succeeded the primitive canons, who sometimes lingered on as choristers in the cathedrals. Foreign religious orders, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, replaced the Celtic monks. As the Irish layman was, generally speaking, outside the pale of English law, so the Irish religious was excluded from the new monasteries; and if Irish clergymen sometimes ministered among their poor countrymen in Anglo-

Norman districts, they had little prospect of Church preferment. In spite of such distinctions, however, there was nothing in the nature of a separate ecclesiastical organization for the settlers. They never presumed, as the Danes had once done, to dispute the authority of the Irish Church. On the contrary, they recognized that by coming to Ireland they had passed under her religious rule, while they did what they could to make their influence predominant within her. In the settled districts this happened as a matter of course. And even outside of these the King's wishes, backed by the authority of Rome often prevailed. The Bull of Adrian gave him in theory the same right of intervention in the affairs of the whole Irish Church, as he possessed in those of the English one. Accordingly, he appears from the first to have exercised an influence in the episcopal appointments to some dioceses which lay mainly outside of the Anglo-Norman settlement. In the course of time even the primatial see of Armagh passed wholly from the rule of Celtic archbishops. But wherever a Celtic prelate remained, if we except a few remote dioceses, he seems, unlike the lower clergy of the same race, to have been acknowledged as the subject of the King, from whom, indeed, he held his lands. In return he yielded a not always willing allegiance, and sometimes attended the colonial Parliament.

In these great changes, affecting so large a part of Ireland, the native owners of the soil were almost forgotten. They had offered, on the whole, so ineffectual a resistance in the open country to the invaders, that it might seem as if they could give little trouble in the future. But such a supposition overlooked two things, viz., the physical features of the country, and the character of a Celtic people. Though Ireland is not an essentially mountainous country, like Wales, there are great chains of mountains along the coasts, as well as inland ranges. And, where mountains did not offer a place of refuge to the fugitives, they could withdraw to the great natural forests, or the wide tracts of bog and marsh, with which the plains abounded. Thus in almost every part of the settled districts, the expelled tribes had only to retire a few leagues, to find a fastness where they might feel secure from the invaders. Thither the dreaded Norman cavalry could not follow them, and Welsh and English archers were of little use in the woods. It would have been as hard for the settlers to conquer these wild places as it was easy to win the rich plains and valleys. Accordingly, they seldom sought to disturb the Irish in their retreats. Anglo-Norman Ireland resembled an intruding sea, washing the base of Celtic peninsulas and islands, where the old race waited till the wave of invasion should recede. It was this

Celtic habit of cherishing old ideas and hopes which made the conquest of Ireland, at first apparently so easy, prove in the end so difficult. The Irish, like the Welsh tribesman, would never submit to the stranger while he could, under any circumstances, preserve his independence. This he was still able to do over about two-thirds of his native soil. Even in those parts of the south and east where the settlers were supreme, there were Irish districts where English law was unknown. This state of things could hardly continue; yet the conquerors seemed to have had no fixed purpose of extending their rule over the whole country. Apparently they trusted to time to reconcile the Celts to the position of a subject people in their feudal society.

Such an anticipation was not to be realized. In contact with a higher civilization, and in spite of the disappearance with Roderick, the last High King, of all hope of united action, tribalism displayed an astonishing vitality. In some respects, of course, it could hardly fail to be affected by such contact. Even at the time of the invasion some of the chieftains seem to have claimed an increased control over the tribe-land. Provincial kings made grants to foreign religious orders by regular Latin charters in the style of feudal lords. Feudalism, now established over a third part of Ireland, could not but

lend countenance to such pretensions at its own boundaries, and encourage a natural tendency in tribal society. But the fundamental principle of tribal ownership remained unchanged. Whatever rights or privileges the chieftain might claim were purely personal. They were derived from his tribesmen, as a body, who alone could appoint his successor. A more direct and positive influence on the natives was exercised by the colonists in certain material arts. Here and there the former built small stone castles and adopted foreign weapons and methods of warfare. But driven, for the most part, from the more fertile lands, they made little progress in civilization, where they did not actually recede. The few monks who still followed the Celtic rule showed little enthusiasm for art and learning. Originality in the field of Celtic literature had greatly declined, and the writers in the native language were chiefly copyists and annalists. The old ecclesiastical art, which had survived the old learning and flourished up to the time of the invasion, now disappeared. Evil as might be the case of the Irishman in Celtic districts, if he ventured into those of the settlers he might expect to fare worse. The five principal tribes, those of the provincial Kings at the date of the invasion, could alone claim, to some extent, the protection of English law. Irishmen from other tribes who

came to live in Anglo-Norman districts, if they did not succeed in obtaining charters of denization, were treated as aliens, whom it was no felony to rob or kill. Such men, who in the course of time seem to have become a numerous body, and to have acquired some wealth, offered more than once, as a class (in conjunction, it would seem, with some Leinster tribes) to purchase English liberties ; but, in spite of the good-will of the Kings, the jealousy of the colonists defeated their hopes. English policy towards the natives, therefore, continued to differ from that of ancient Rome towards subject peoples, and even from that of the Norman conquerors towards the native English. Anglo - Norman churchmen were as illiberal as the laity ; and a Pope had to interpose to compel equal justice for both races in the archiepiscopal province of Cashel.

Since the settlers did not seriously attempt to reduce the natives in their fastness, while in most of the settled lands a Celtic population remained, a Celtic reaction outside of the walled towns became sooner or later inevitable. The comparatively few Englishmen and Welshmen who had come over as soldiers or retainers of the Norman nobles, would often marry Irishwomen, and their children would thus grow up Irish. Intermarriage was not confined to the inferior classes. One of the first foreign lords

of Connaught, like the first lords of Leinster and Meath, took an Irish wife. The great Norman nobles, feeling themselves almost independent of the Crown, went to war with each other at their will, and made alliances with Irish chieftains. By degrees the lord of a remote territory, surrounded by Irish dependents, would assume the character of a chieftain and adopt some of the Celtic customs. Under such circumstances, it seemed to need but a united effort on the part of the natives to break up the Anglo-Norman settlement. But, as before, the weakness of the tribal system made common action among them impossible. When a blow was at length struck on behalf of Irish independence it came from without.

The power which now intervened in Irish affairs was Scotland, a country which was closely connected with Ireland, and which actually bore the name by which Ireland itself had been known in earlier times. It was from the North of Ireland that the Scots had once emigrated to Argyle. Thence they had gradually extended their rule over Picts and Britons, and, on gaining a strip of the English Northumbria south of the Forth, had formed the Kingdom of Scotland. From Ireland the greater part of Scotland had been Christianized, and the Scottish Church was originally organized on the Irish model. A constant intercourse was main-

tained between the northern Irish and their kinsmen in Western Scotland and the Isles, who continued to speak the same language and observe the same customs. Yet the course of general Scottish history was different from that of Ireland, owing chiefly to the neighbourhood of England, and the existence of an English settlement between the Forth and the Tweed. The district of Lothian was an English stronghold, flanking the Celtic people of Strathclyde. Drawing to itself from England a higher civilization, as England herself had drawn it from the Continent, it began to spread its influence beyond its boundaries, and to plant colonies among Picts and Britons. In this way the English language penetrated into Celtic districts, and in the course of time became the tongue of a mixed race. The Norman Conquest of England drove numbers of English exiles to the Scottish court, where they naturally increased the English influence. After the English came the Normans, who won the favour of the Scottish King and obtained large grants of land. They introduced the French language and the feudal system, and brought Scotland into closer relations with England and the Continent. Only in the mountains and islands of the north and west did the tribal system hold its ground as in Ireland. The Norman noble who settled there became a Highland chieftain, and the

mountaineers confounded the amalgamated Celts and English of the Lowlands under the common name of Saxon.

But English in speech and customs though Scotland had so largely become, she had no inclination to acknowledge the supremacy of an English King. Indeed, it was in the English and Anglicized districts of the Lowlands that the national feeling was strongest. The national resistance to England was chiefly a Lowland one, and the Battle of Bannockburn, though won with Highland aid, was practically the victory of one English-speaking people over another. The Scottish King, Robert Bruce, determined to follow up his victory by attacking the English power in Ireland. His brother, Edward, accepted the invitation of some of the northern chieftains, crossed with a small force to the Irish Coast, and with the help of his Irish allies drove the Anglo-Normans out of Ulster. All the Irish outside of Munster rose in his favour, and he was crowned King of Ireland in Dundalk. The Norman lords of Meath and Leinster were divided, and offered but a feeble opposition to his advance. Some of them even espoused his cause. But beyond the Shannon the dread of the natives united the colonists. Unlike the Scots, the Celts of Connaught had no horsemen in armour, no regular military training, no leaders of Norman

blood. The greatest army which they had brought together for a hundred years was scattered under the walls of Athenry. The arrival in Ireland of King Robert himself with a large force could not undo the moral effect of this event. The citizens of Dublin burnt their suburbs, and held out resolutely against the enemy. An expedition of the Scots into Munster served only to show the opposition of the southern Irish to this effort of the North. King Robert returned to Scotland, and his brother, a true Norman in pride and wilfulness, resolved, against the advice of his Irish allies, to stake his crown on the issue of a pitched battle. Abandoned by the Ulster chieftains, he faced the enemy near the scene of his coronation, and fell upon the field.

The failure of the Scottish expedition proved that nearly a century and a half of foreign rule in Ireland had failed to unite the Irish tribes. To become undisputed King of Ireland, Edward Bruce would have had practically to uproot Celtic tribalism, which, while it existed, made national unity impossible. He would, in fact, have had to bring over an army large enough[†] not only to conquer Anglo-Norman, but also Celtic Ireland. Such a task would have been far beyond the resources of Scotland, where the Crown had never succeeded in upsetting the tribal system of the Highlands. But,

if the Scottish invasion failed in its purpose of overthrowing the Anglo-Norman power in Ireland, it gave it a shock which greatly increased its weakness. The Celtic reaction spread more widely than ever. Some of the settled districts were won back by the natives with the sword. Others, which had been administered by neighbouring chieftains for nobles who resided in England, became once more part of Celtic Ireland. Even in the territory retained by the colonists, except the chief towns and surrounding districts, Celtic influence became predominant. The Norman lord generally adopted the Irish customs and language, and sometimes assumed an Irish name. He bound himself to powerful chieftains by matrimonial alliances, and by the tie of gossipred. Like them, he had his Brehon to expound the Celtic law, and his bard to sing his praises in Irish verse. Knights and freeholders, wherever they remained, were fain to become Irish like their lord. His bondsmen, who had always been mainly Irish, welcomed the return of tribalism, which restored to honour their language and traditions, and abolished the severe penalties of feudal law. The reaction even penetrated into the towns, where Irishmen sometimes pushed their way into public offices. Native ecclesiastics naturally shared in the fruits of the Celtic revival. They were promoted to benefices and canonries in the Celticized

districts, and an Irish Archbishop of Cashel boldly resisted taxation in his province.

While Anglo-Norman Ireland sank back into a more primitive state of society than the feudal one, England was advancing through feudalism into a higher civilization. Serfdom was dying out there as steadily as it was increasing in Ireland. By the fourteenth century, Englishmen were no longer a subordinate race in their own country, looked down upon by a foreign ruling-class. The English tongue was no longer a language of rustics and burghers. The haughty foreigners who had come over with the Conqueror and the Plantagenets had ended by becoming Englishmen. They professed surprise that their kinsmen in Ireland did not follow their example. Some of the latter, who dwelt near the centre of Anglo-Norman government, did, in fact, do so. But the majority fell under Celtic influence, and became more or less Irish. This circumstance, which has ever since excited so much comment, was in reality quite natural, and indeed inevitable. There is a parallel to it in the history of Scotland, where the Normans who settled in the Lowlands were Anglicized, while those who settled in the Highlands were Celticized. In every country, in fact, where a Norman upper class was established, they were bound, as being a small minority, to fuse sooner or later with the natives. Yet this tendency

of the Irish-Normans was always looked on in England as an unnatural one. Hence it followed that the offspring of a race of invaders, who had not called themselves Englishmen or spoken English, at least as their mother tongue, were dubbed "degenerate English."

Alarmed for its supremacy in Ireland, unreal though that had always been, the English Kings made unavailing efforts to stem the tide of Celtic reaction. Their natural impulse was to strengthen the purely English influence. The colonists, whether of English or Norman extraction, began to be looked upon as a race apart from both English and Irish, a "middle-nation" as it was called. An attempt was made to dispense altogether with their assistance in the government of Ireland, and to place all public offices in the hands of men who had property in England. English noblemen who possessed estates in Ireland were required to reside there under penalty of losing their lands. To increase the revenue, it was proposed to resume old grants from the Crown. Such proceedings were aggravated by the scornful language of the newcomers from England towards the colonists, who were not slow to retaliate in kind. It soon appeared that the Crown had utterly miscalculated its power in Ireland. The colonists, thoroughly aroused, met at the summons of the Earl of Desmond in Kil-

kenny in an assembly of prelates, nobles, and commons, which threw the Parliament which the King's representative had brought together in Dublin completely into the shade. This influential assembly forwarded a strong protest against the new policy to the King, who was obliged to comply with some of their demands. Nevertheless his son, who came over to repel the natives, attempted at first to do so without the assistance of the leading colonists. His failure led to a change of policy. The colonists were restored to favour, but an effort was made to cut them off altogether from the Irish by the Statute of Kilkenny. This statute, however, could in practice be only applied in a few really English districts, and even there its regular enforcement was impossible. To deprive the coast-towns of intercourse with the Irish of the interior must seriously affect, and in some cases almost ruin, their commerce. The statute was, therefore, occasionally dispensed with by the Government, and often evaded. Sometimes, in its perplexity, the Government had recourse to the Church for assistance against the natives. The clergy were called upon to excommunicate chieftains who ignored the Bull of Adrian. Attempts were regularly made by the Executive to weaken the more formidable tribes by setting up rivals to the ruling chieftains. In spite of all such devices, English influence continued to

wane, and the inhabitants of the towns, including Dublin, had to pay pensions to the local chieftains, to secure their good-will and keep open the ways in the interior. The whole administration of English law appeared to be in danger when colonial judges began to impose fines for felonies, murder itself included. At last a King of England, Richard II., resolved to go over to Ireland and re-organize the country. But his two armed expeditions effected nothing, except futile compacts with the chieftains. He could not even overcome a defiant chieftain who ruled at no great distance to the south of Dublin. The natives would not leave their retreats to risk a regular battle, and the Celticized lords, when not actually hostile, gave no substantial assistance to the King. After the deposition of Richard, the House of Lancaster attempted to increase its power in Ireland. But the same Leinster chieftain, McMurrough, defeated and wounded the King's son and representative, the Duke of Lancaster, under the walls of Dublin. The devastation of Celtic territory by England's greatest soldier, Sir John Talbot, and the popularity of the government of the Duke of York, checked tribal encroachments for a time, but they were soon renewed. During the civil wars in England, Ireland had to be left very much to herself, and the great lords easily controlled the colonial government. One family, that of the

Geraldines, rose to a position of pre-eminence. But wide as was their influence, they made no attempt to unite the colonists under their rule. In truth, the spread of tribalism in the settled districts had made union impossible there, as it was in Celtic Ireland. Half-nobles, half-chieftains, the Geraldines served as a link between natives and colonists, while maintaining, so far as it suited their purpose, the limited authority of the Crown.

At the close of the mediæval period the strictly English territory in Ireland was confined to some of the towns and to three separate rural districts on the eastern coast. The central, and by far the largest of these, commonly known as the Pale, lay north and west of the city of Dublin. The northern one stretched between the Mourne range and Strangford Lough; while the southern comprised the lower part of the county of Wexford. The strength of the English colony was centred in Dublin, the seat of the colonial government. Very different was the appearance of the city at that time from what it is to-day. The public buildings and monuments, the spacious streets, the squares, the quays, the suburban terraces and villas did not then exist. A little church, dedicated to the protomartyr, which stood outside the walls in the middle of green fields, marked the position of St Stephen's Green. The river-tides flowed over a bed of slime, which covered

the site of Merrion Square. The river itself, spanned by a single bridge, ran out into the sea through banks of ooze and sand, bearing a few small craft upon its shallow waters, in place of the line of ships and steamers which nowadays stretches from the Custom House to the Bay. The whole circuit of the city walls covered no more than an Irish mile. Within this area were to be found little more than a dozen churches and some score of narrow streets. With the exception of the larger edifices, such as churches, convents, and towers, the city was built of wood and plaster, covered with curious ornament. Conspicuous above the roofs of tile and slate and shingle rose the great towers of the Castle, which stood on an eminence, with its broad moat and strong curtains stretching in a quadrangle around it, and its gateway facing the river, and defended by two pieces of ordnance. One can picture to the mind's eye the citizens who thronged the streets of this old Dublin four hundred years ago. There might be seen the merchant, soberly attired in a long robe with wide sleeves fastened by a girdle, wearing a plain cap, beneath which his hair flowed loose upon his shoulders. There was the gallant, or man of fashion, with his great plume of feathers hanging over his curls, his slashed doublet, and tight hose and broad-toed shoes. Beside him the lady, clad in full gown with hanging sleeves, her hair con-

finer in a network caul or under a hood of diamond shape. There too might be seen the mechanic, in his coarser but gaudy garb, and the labourer, of Irish blood, and perhaps wearing the Irish dress. Monks and friars paced through the crowd, in the robes of their orders, unchanged to the present day, and English soldiers in steel armour; perhaps also Irish or Scottish gallowglasses, wearing old-fashioned coats of mail. Such must have been the chief figures in the motley throng which watched the procession of one of the city guilds on its patron's day, or looked on at the young men practising archery at the butts on Hoggen Green. Those were the days of pilgrimages to the shrine of the Welsh St Cubie, at Christ Church, the days of masques, and plays, and pageants in honour of the Lord Deputy, or some other great personage. For, in spite of the development of a distinct type of character among the colonists, Dublin might still be called an English city. Its citizens were proud of their English blood, of their old charters and privileges, modelled on those of the mother country, of their exploits against the "Irish enemy," and their memorable defence against the Scots. The same spirit prevailed, if less strongly, in the other English coast-towns, and in such inland boroughs as had not fallen under Irish influence. But there was little community of action between these scattered towns. Early in the sixteenth

century Cork and Limerick could actually wage a private war and conclude a regular treaty of peace. Few as they were, the English in Ireland were, like the natives and Celticized Normans, divided among themselves.

In spite of repeated inroads of the Irish, the colonists still held firm possession of the rich lands watered by the Liffey and the Boyne, stretching inland to the border-towns of Naas and Trim. Within these limits, comprising fragments of four counties, English law was still in force, and the English language was spoken by the gentry, the freeholders, and the burghers. But even the Pale was not a purely English land. Outside of Dublin the labouring class was mainly, and the farming class largely, Irish, speaking the Irish language, and even wearing the Irish dress. Attempts had been made to Anglicize this Irish population, and they had been ordered to take English names and adopt English ways. But the constant pressure of Celtic influence from outside was too strong, and the bulk of the colonists were not desirous that so large a body of aliens residing among them should acquire the rights of English citizens. The English element among the farming class continued to dwindle as the Pale was wasted by Irish incursions, and Irishmen, accustomed to a lower standard of comfort, offered themselves as tenants at increased rents

and services for the vacant lands. As serfdom spread over the Pale civilization naturally declined. The Irish cabin of wattles and clay must have become a familiar object in the landscape, taking the place of the decayed half-timber farm-house. The lords of the Pale still lived in stately castles, and the gentry had their houses of stone. Nor were there wanting lawns and gardens, groves and orchards, in the English style, to adorn the residences of the ruling race of the Pale.

Away to the south and west, stretching over plains and along rivers to the Atlantic, a straggling territory yet continuous, lay the marches or borderlands where the Celticized Norman ruled. Here society was of a more or less Celtic type, acknowledging tribal custom and the Brehon law. But the extent of the Celtic reaction was not everywhere the same. The Norman-Irish lord to the east of the Shannon retained peculiarities of his own which distinguished him from the Celtic chieftain. He had given up his Norman-French tongue, but he could often speak English. He lived in a large domain and castle, and handed down his property to his eldest son by feudal succession. He was regarded by the colonial government not as an alien, but as a disobedient Englishman. If he made submission, he could plead in the colonial courts and claim all the privileges of citizenship;

and, as occasion served, he would avail himself of his two-fold character, and be English within the Pale and Irish without it. But in spite of his anomalous position and the greater distance at which he stood from his followers, he was obeyed by them with the same devotion as if he were a genuine Irish chieftain, united to the tribesmen by the tie of kinship, and holding his lands in trust for the tribe. Beyond the Shannon, however, the Norman lord had openly cast off his allegiance and become thoroughly Irish, adopting the tribal instead of the feudal law of succession, and speaking only the Irish tongue.

The purely Celtic territory, which had never comprised less than two-thirds of the island, had gained considerably, as we have seen, at the expense of the colonists. There Celtic tribalism remained in full vigour, but the power of the chieftain had steadily grown, until it differed little in some cases from that of a feudal lord. Free tribesmen, indeed, continued to exist; but if they still met in tribal councils, they do not seem to have exercised an effective control over the policy of the chieftain. In fact, their position towards him was in many respects rather that of vassals than the old independent one. The heads of septs and the chieftains of minor tribes seem to have paid the great chieftain a quasi-feudal allegiance. At the

same time the servile class seem to have greatly increased in numbers, the growing need of a powerful protector combining with the example of Anglo-Norman Ireland to turn the lesser freemen into villeins. A class of wandering tenants, possessing herds of their own, which they moved from pasture to pasture, had arisen in Ulster, and probably tempted the northern chieftains, who were their temporary landlords, to encroach on the grazing rights of the tribesmen. But if some important changes had, during the course of centuries, taken place in the tribe, tribal tradition was, on the whole, carefully preserved. The chieftain still owed his rank and property to tribal election, and could not, like the Norman baron, transmit them to his son. The family-land of the free tribesmen still descended by division among the representatives of the common ancestor. The principle of kinship was still the grand element in tribal society, and furnished the tribesman with his chief security against wrong.

Looking back on the influences of the mediæval period in Irish history, one perceives that, so far from tending to solve what was even then the Irish problem, they had made its solution more remote than ever. Compared with the state of things which they produced, the old conditions prevailing before the Anglo-Norman invasion had

the advantage in point of simplicity. Not but that even then the state of Irish society was, as we have seen, an anomalous one. A Celtic people, originally disinclined to commerce and a seafaring life, had settled in an island in the Atlantic, whose geographical position combined with these characteristics of theirs and the general course of European history to cut them off from close intercourse with the Continent. This isolated existence was singularly favourable to the intensifying of the strong conservative sentiment of the Celtic race, and singularly unfavourable to social and political progress. It was at length broken by two outside influences, which linked Ireland, however loosely, to neighbouring lands—Christianity and the Scandinavian settlements. Danish intercourse with England, now a united and prospering kingdom under foreign kings, paved the way for the Anglo-Norman invasion and a partial conquest of the island. The Norman or feudal element prevailed in the rural parts of the settlement, where it held sway over an Irish peasantry, and the English or municipal one in the towns and adjoining districts, where it gradually fused with the Danish colonists. But this new foreign influence, strong though it seemed at first, was really weak. It had no true centre or unity, the English Kings being always too much occupied at home or on the Continent to look closely after

the affairs of the colony in Ireland. On the other hand the power of resistance on the part of the natives, so slight in the open field, proved formidable when they had retreated to the natural fastnesses. Thence they were able to maintain a guerilla warfare, which, aided by dissensions among the colonists, slowly sapped the Anglo-Norman settlement. Its ruin was accelerated by the Scottish invasion. Broadly speaking, the colonists divided according to distinction of race, the Normans, who lived chiefly among Irishmen, becoming in most places more or less Irish, and the Englishmen of the towns and urban districts remaining mainly English. In the purely Celtic districts the tribal system was still supreme, if modified by feudal tendencies. In the meantime feudalism had been steadily dying out in England and on the Continent. Thus the Irish problem no longer was how to substitute feudalism for tribalism, but how to overthrow the latter together with what remained of the former, and build up a new society, approaching to the modern one, upon the ruins of both.

But there was no prospect of a central power in Ireland strong enough to undertake such a task. The Celtic reaction was the great feature of the close of the mediæval period; and that reaction was necessarily hostile to centralization. It was everywhere a local and spontaneous, not a national

or organized movement. The semblance of Celtic nationality had disappeared centuries before with the High Kingship of Ireland. The lesson of unity which Celtic Ireland needed, she could not be taught by a colony divided like herself, or by a Church split into two sections, which represented the hostile feelings of natives and colonists. But whatever example might have been set to her, whatever external influence might have acted upon her, so long as the tribal system was the ground-work of her society she could not be united. Her sole chance of progress from within lay in the appearance of a great leader, superior to his surroundings, who could revolutionize her institutions while dazzling her with his genius. But for such a leader, circumstanced as she was, she could hardly hope. During three centuries and more since the Anglo-Norman Invasion she had not given birth to a single man of real eminence, to a chieftain of the stamp of Brian, or a churchman of the type of Malachy. So far as European intercourse went, she stood aloof, as she had stood a thousand years before. Lying near the Celto-Latin country of France, which had felt the civilizing influence of both Pagan and Christian Rome, she entered into no relations with her. While French arts and culture penetrated into more distant Scotland, while French and Scottish troops fought side by side against Eng-

land, the Irish Celt, who might still have hailed the old Gaul as a brother, knew not his Latinized descendant. Thus Irish tribalism lingered on, a survival from a remote past, borrowing only from outside such arts or customs as tended to its preservation, a blot upon the growing civilization of Western Europe, a prison-house in which a gallant race, vigorous in body and mind, was doomed to lead an unprogressive and an aimless life.

CHAPTER III

THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND

THE sixteenth century, a period of general transformation in Europe, was also a turning-point in the history of Ireland. But, owing to the peculiar condition of the country, the changes which took place there were of a different kind from those which occurred elsewhere. The Reformation, the chief revolutionary factor abroad, was introduced into Ireland as a foreign force. It had no local vitality, and attained scant success, even among the colonists. Its main result was to give a religious bent to the old race-struggle between Celtic and English influences. At the end of the century this struggle was finally decided in favour of the latter, and tribalism received its death-blow. Since then Celtic Ireland has passed utterly away, and a new Ireland, of a distinct type, has come into being. Herein lies the great significance of the Tudor period in Irish history. It was a period of transition from the old state of things to the new, from a tribalism more or less pervaded by

feudal ideas to the beginnings of modern society. It was marked by the spread of the Roman ideas of public order and political cohesion embodied in English institutions and laws. Such a revolution, regarded in itself, was doubtless a great gain. But when we come to consider the way it was brought about and all its attendant circumstances, we find that the general conduct of the victors tended to present the new system in a repulsive aspect to Celtic eyes. In fact, if they had desired to make the primitive state of society which they swept away looked back to with affection and regret by the natives, they could hardly have adopted surer means than the policy which they, on the whole, pursued.

The first Tudor King, finding Ireland a stronghold of his Yorkist enemies, made an attempt to reduce at least the Pale to obedience. He sent over as Deputy Sir Edward Poynings, who held a Parliament at Drogheda, which passed Acts making the colonial Parliament wholly dependent on the King and his Council in England, and declaring previous English statutes to be in force in Ireland. Other statutes of this Parliament vainly strove by old methods to curb the Celtic reaction. It is significant, however, that indulgence was now shown to the use of the Irish language, which was universally spoken, even in the Pale. On the withdrawal of Poynings, the House of Kildare, disgraced for a

brief period owing to its share in plots against the King, soon recovered all its old power. Its head, the great link connecting large portions of Celtic and Celticized Ireland with the Pale, again became representative of the Crown, and triumphed over all his enemies. The statesmanship of Henry VII. was fully occupied outside of Ireland; and the vanity of his son was at first absorbed in foreign enterprises and the pleasures of his court. But after ten years of Geraldine rule had led to nothing but complaints against the Deputy on the part of the rival faction among the colonists, he summoned Kildare to London, and deprived him of his office. Ignorant as he was of Irish affairs, the King seems to have contemplated something like a regular conquest of Ireland with wholly inadequate forces. He sent over the Earl of Surrey, one of the most distinguished English commanders, with a diminutive but disciplined army, and a regular train of artillery. It seems to have been expected that the colonists would flock to his standard; but Kildare's influence amongst them was great, and in his absence they would give little assistance. According to precedent, Surrey marched his forces up and down the country without meeting an enemy. Recent improvements in the art of warfare had made mail-clad gallowglasses as well as half-naked kern weaker than ever in the face of an English

force in the open field. But the natives had only to adopt the old harassing tactics, to wear out the patience of regular troops. Such tactics succeeded even better than formerly, as the English army was for the first time encumbered with artillery. The soldiers began to murmur. Their pay was in arrear, and a pestilence had broken out among them. At last Henry listened to Surrey's petitions, and recalled him to England. The half-hearted attempt to reduce Ireland was abandoned, and things fell back into the old groove. Ormond, Kildare's great rival, was twice given a trial as governor, and as often failed. Kildare himself, also twice appointed Deputy, was twice disgraced, and finally thrown into the Tower. Thereupon the anger of his followers broke out in the Geraldine rebellion.

Since the invasion of Edward Bruce, no such danger as this had threatened the English power in Ireland. There was, indeed, no foreign enemy there to cope with, like the Scots; but now, for the first time, a great party both among natives and colonists united in revolt. But the position of a King of England was now very different from what it had been in the days of Edward Bruce. Then he was a limited monarch, who had to conciliate powerful vassals. But civil war had broken the power of the English nobility, and the Crown was now supreme. If it put forth its strength it

could certainly make itself supreme in Ireland too. The decisive step had been taken by the arrest of the greatest nobleman in Ireland, and the rebellion of his son brought matters to a direct issue. But besides open rebellion, considerations were not wanting of a nature to urge Henry to deal resolutely with the Irish question. Hitherto Ireland had been a discredit to England, but she could hardly be said, on the whole, to have been a danger. She lay outside the main current of European life, separated by England herself from the Continent. She had never held out a hand, much less given a footing, to the Continental enemies of England. But now this attitude was suddenly changed. After a slumber of centuries the country seemed to awake to the existence of a foreign world. Celtic as well as Anglo-Norman Ireland began to feel the expansive impulse of the time. The early intrigues of Desmond in the south with France and O'Donnell in the north with Scotland were symptoms of the new spirit. After Henry's definite rupture with Rome and the passing of the Act of Supremacy, such intrigues might have far-reaching consequences. The King's title to Ireland came down to him from a Papal grant, and would be shaken if that grant were revoked, as it might well be. In point of fact, the rebellious son of Kildare gave himself out as a champion of the Papacy, declared Ireland forfeited

to the Holy See, and sent envoys to both Pope and Emperor. He had been reconciled with his great kinsman, the Earl of Desmond, who was now negotiating with Spain on his own account. A Celtic chieftain related to Desmond had actually made voluntary submission to the Emperor. In view of such startling events, new in Irish history, it was necessary to act with vigour, lest Ireland should become a menace to the independence of England.

At first, however, the measures taken by the Crown were by no means vigorous. No English force landed in Ireland for four months after the outbreak of the rebellion. When troops at length arrived, it was found that the citizens of Dublin had known how to defend their city as well as their ancestors had defended it against Bruce. Taken at first by surprise, they were obliged to admit the rebels within their walls; but they succeeded in driving them out again, and finally made a truce on favourable terms. The Geraldine party had no artillery, except a few light pieces, while the ordnance of Dublin Castle did great execution among them. The new Deputy, who was an old man, finding Dublin safe, hesitated to take the field during the winter. At length he laid siege to the Castle of Maynooth, the chief stronghold of the House of Kildare. Its fall caused a panic all over Ireland, proving, as it did, that the

strongest fortresses were insecure against the new implements of warfare. The young Earl of Kildare, whose father had died in the Tower, lost support and surrendered. Thus the danger of the Geraldine rebellion, and with it the greatness of the House of Kildare, passed away. But the King had made up his mind to crush the remnant of the party, and in future to brook no rival in Ireland. The lords and chieftains of Geraldine sympathies, perceiving his object, drew together in a loose confederacy, to which religious interests gave a new sanction. The northern chieftains, always the strongest and most independent, re-opened negotiations with Scotland, and through Scotland with the Continent. They received promises of assistance from abroad, and it was arranged that, in the event of success, O'Neill, the representative of the old royal race, was to proclaim himself King of Ireland at Tara. But these Celtic dreams were not to be realized. No help came from abroad, and although the northern chieftains advanced as far as Tara, they hastily withdrew on the approach of the Lord Deputy, by whom they were soon afterwards attacked and defeated. One by one, lords and chieftains, terrified by the effects of artillery on their fortresses, made submission. The King now regarded the country as fairly conquered, and proceeded to develop his Irish policy.

That policy, in one respect at least, did him honour. The extermination of the independent tribes seemed to some of his advisers to be the natural aim of English statesmanship. Henry turned a deaf ear to such counsels, and resolved to break once for all with the old colonial traditions. Himself of Celtic descent, he naturally did not share in the English prejudice against Celtic peoples. Moverover, despot though he was, and pitiless to those who crossed his path, he seems not to have been lacking in a kingly sympathy for the weak. He had lately extended English laws and institutions throughout his ancestral Wales, and given all the inhabitants the benefit of English citizenship. In the same conciliatory spirit he now approached Celtic Ireland. His idea was, while abolishing the pensions which some of the chieftains had enjoyed through the weakness of the colonial government, to turn the heads of important tribes into a new nobility, holding the tribe-lands direct from the Crown, whose supremacy in Church and State they were to acknowledge. A Parliament held in Dublin was attended by some of the most prominent chieftains, who, as assessors, not yet (with one exception) as members, sat in the Upper House beside the descendants of the Norman invaders. With their approval Henry assumed the new title

of King, instead of Lord, of Ireland, hoping thus to make himself independent of the Papal grant to his predecessor, and to establish his rule on a firm basis. No attempt was made to do away at one stroke with the Brehon code, but ordinances were adopted for the re-introduction of English law and custom into the Celticized districts, while the great lords agreed to forego some of their high privileges. At the same time, the chieftains who entered into the King's peace were to conform, at least gradually, to English habits. Finally, the Crown, by the strong measure of resuming the estates of certain absentees, had become, for the first time since the early days of the settlement, a great Irish landowner, with all the prestige and power connected with that position.

To an observer in England at that time a new era might seem to have dawned upon Ireland. England, as represented by her despotic ruler, might appear to have at length awakened to a sense of her responsibilities and duties in the neighbouring island. Outwardly, Ireland was at peace. A rebellion, originating among the colonists, had been put down, and the new-born concert between the chieftains had come to naught. The Catholic powers had given no material aid towards a war of religion. Most of the Celticized lords had been,

at least partially, won over from Irish influences, and professed themselves Englishmen and loyal subjects of the King. They had admitted the King's officers into their territories, and put the inhabitants, at least the gentlemen of Norman and English descent, on the King's peace. The principal chieftains had acknowledged him as their sovereign, the first King of Ireland since the death of Roderick, and the supreme head of the Church as well as the State. They had agreed to become his tenants and vassals, to obey his laws, and to win over their tribesmen to English ways. As earnest of their sincerity, they had submitted their disputes with each other to the arbitration of his representative. Encouragement might also be derived from the example of Celtic Wales, which had finally accepted English civilization. It might be asked, Why should not Celtic Ireland do likewise?

So might a man reason who had never been in Ireland, and who did not understand the Irish problem. But such reasoning had no solid foundation in fact. In the first place, Celtic Ireland, though for the moment subdued, had not been really conquered. The tribes had merely bowed to superior strength in the sixteenth century, as they had done in the twelfth. The chieftains, indeed, had made fuller submission to Henry VIII. than their ancestors had made to Henry II. But the notion

that the tribesmen would quietly abandon tribal rights and customs, simply because their ruling chieftain had agreed to become the King's vassal, shows the old ignorance of the nature of the tribal system. The Tudor King like the Plantagenet three and a half centuries before, ignored the difference between tribal and feudal tenure, and treated with the chieftain as owner of his tribeland. The sub-chieftains and heads of septs were expected to concur in the arrangement as a matter of course. This meant that they were asked to regard their head, no longer as a representative kinsman, but as an independent lord, imposed upon them by a foreign power; not as life-possessor of his share in the tribeland, but as owner of the whole. They were to have no voice in the selection of his successor; or, if they had already elected a tanist who was not his son, he might be set aside. In spite of the feudal tendencies which had been developed in Irish tribalism, such changes as these involved a veritable revolution. They might be accepted by certain tribes, hemmed in by once Celticized districts where English rule had been re-established. But that they could be brought about among more remote and independent tribes by a simple covenant on the part of the ruling chieftain was impossible. Such a chieftain could hardly rely on material aid from the King to overcome

tribal repugnance; and the support of his Scottish gallowglasses could not coerce his kinsmen. Powerful as he was, he depended absolutely for the maintenance of his power on the support of his tribe. Through fear, or ambition, or other motive, he might bind himself before the King's representative to do the royal pleasure. But, when he went home and faced his tribesmen, he would be powerless, if never so willing, to keep his word.

The example of Wales, if Henry relied on that, had no direct bearing on the Irish problem. The two countries, once very similar in their internal state, were so no longer. Some two and a half centuries before this epoch the remotest parts of Wales had been thoroughly conquered, and, except for occasional risings, had remained fairly obedient to the English Crown. English feudal law had become dominant there, only a few Welsh customs being still tolerated. Since then, further districts to the south and a large portion of the marches had been brought under the Crown, on which the greater part of the country now directly depended. Even when the power of the lords marcher was at its highest, it could not be compared with that of some of the great Irish-Norman lords, who ruled over territories from which they were able to raise armies. The overthrow of the last native prince had removed the natural leaders of the

Welsh. Under these circumstances, Wales had been drawn irresistibly, if gradually, into the English political system. Welshmen had learned to appreciate the advantages of English citizenship, of which most of them were deprived. To practical influences was added a sentimental one, naturally potent with a Celtic people. In Henry VIII. they saw a prince of their own race, whose father had seemed to fulfil the prophecy of the Welsh seer by ascending the English throne. No longer brooding over past wrongs, they quietly surrendered at his command the remnant of their tribal institutions, and accepted a union with England. Far other was the case of Ireland. There Celtic ideas and customs prevailed among still unconquered tribes. English law had been driven out of the greater part of the settlement, and confined to a few towns and districts. The tendency until quite lately had been, not to Anglicize the native, but to Celticize the colonist. Instead of directly ruling, as in Wales, the larger part of the country, the Crown had had till recently little authority outside the Pale. The Irish, unlike the Welsh, had still practically independent Celtic leaders, and regarded Henry VIII. in spite of his conciliatory policy, as a foreign King. In those days of difficult and dangerous navigation, the Irish Channel was a barrier to English influence far

more formidable than the mountains of Wales. Finally, there was no real resemblance between the terms offered to the natives of the two countries. Every Welshman became a citizen; but in Celtic Ireland only the chieftain class were definitely accepted as subjects of the Crown.

If Henry's Irish secular reforms were in themselves unpromising, their failure was hastened by his ecclesiastical policy. He was bent upon introducing the Reformation, as he understood it, into Ireland; and, even apart from religious convictions, there were special reasons why the people would have none of it. The Reformation, viewed strictly as a religious movement, was primarily a revolt against three things, a sacerdotal clergy, the employment of imagery and ceremonial in religious worship, and the principle of asceticism. Abuses in Church discipline (of which there was no lack in Ireland as elsewhere) could not logically lead to changes in doctrine, though they might serve as an occasion for such in minds already ripe for revolt. But the Reformation was not solely or even mainly a religious movement. It was also an intellectual, a political, and a social one. Intellectually it was a new awakening of the old rationalism, that spirit which had once ruled over ancient thought, but which in the Middle Ages, the period of Christian faith, had

been generally dormant, though never dead. The political movement, taking root in Germany, assumed a national form and became a revolt of the North against the South, of Teutonic pride against Latin ascendancy. The needy German nobility were tempted to lay hands on the rich domains of the Church ; while the people, wherever they really welcomed the Reformation, hailed it as the herald of social revolution, a feeling which found expression in the great uprising of the lower orders in Germany.

After Protestantism had become the state religion in a mainly Teutonic country, like England, it might long remain opposed to the convictions of the majority of the people. But after the lapse of years, when men's minds had grown confused or indifferent about religious dogmas, the new religion might be accepted in a Teutonic form. The theory of private judgment would harmonize with the Teutonic spirit of personal freedom. The calm Teutonic nature could, without an emotional equivalent, abandon the sensible aids to devotion cherished by the warmer peoples of the south. The English intellect, reflective rather than logical, could accept the principle of a local or national Church, responsible for its doctrines as well as its discipline to the secular power, while claiming a spiritual character and an apostolic authority. A

practical people like the English could even introduce its love of compromise into the domain of dogma. It could end by accepting the Reformation in the form of an Established Church which stood mid-way between the old teaching and the new. It could come to tolerate among the members of that Church a divergency of views and doctrines, which in any other ecclesiastical organization in the world would be held to be incompatible with unity. Such a religious system was possible among men of English blood.

But it was otherwise with a Celtic or a Celto-Latin people. As a rule the Celt, whether Latinized or not, clung to the old religion. But when he revolted, his religious revolt was of more thorough-going kind than the Teutonic one. By nature hostile to half-measures, he developed a religious revolution of his own. For him there was no halting-place from Rome to Geneva. The emotional spirit of Calvinism stirred his passionate nature, while its extreme doctrines seemed to his keen intelligence more logical than those of the German Reformers. The theocratic idea of government commended itself to a race over prone to see in the priest a religious chieftain. Calvinism was, therefore, the special Celtic type of the Reformation. In France, in what is now French Switzerland, in semi-Celtic Scotland, Protestantism, in so far as it pre-

vailed, prevailed in a Calvinistic form. Such Celtic districts as Wales and Cornwall, which accepted slowly and unwillingly the English Reformation, imposed on them by superior power, are only apparent exceptions to the general rule. They, too, have shown by their Dissent in more recent times that certain characteristics persist, and that the Celtic mind cannot assimilate a strange idea in a form uncongenial to the spirit of the race.

It follows, therefore, from the fact that the inhabitants of Ireland were mostly of Celtic blood that, even had they been favourably inclined towards the Reformation, they would not have welcomed it in its English form, while England could not have succeeded in imposing it upon a still unconquered people. But, in truth, there was not the slightest desire of any religious change among either natives or colonists. Christianity in Ireland had always been distinguished by a deep reverence for the special objects of attack on the part of the Reformers—religious rites and emblems, the sacerdotal functions of the clergy, and the monastic life. The rationalistic spirit, which guided the religious revolt in some other countries, was unknown in Ireland. As a political movement, the Reformation could have no attraction, at least for the natives. On the contrary, it served to strengthen the Papal influence among them. If the Pope had hitherto seemed to

them to sympathize overmuch with the English King, the breach between the two turned the former into a natural political ally of the Irish Celt. On their pilgrimages to Rome the chieftains must have found the Latin type of civilization more attractive than the English one. The Irish Church was too poor to largely excite the cupidity of laymen, though lords and chieftains might be willing enough to share in the spoils of suppressed religious houses. A social movement among the masses, like that which had arisen in Germany, would have been opposed to all Celtic traditions, and was therefore impossible. As for the English townsmen, they were as little inclined towards religious change as their kinsmen in the mother-country, while they were in a stronger position to resist it.

Thus was the new Irish policy of Henry VIII. foredoomed to failure. Yet its chief defect, the attempt to force upon both natives and colonists a religious revolution, followed logically from the English Reformation. To acknowledge the Pope as head of the Irish Church after he had repudiated him as head of the English one, would not merely have galled the pride of the Tudor, but would have practically given over Ireland to the Papacy, to be used, in the contest which had already begun, as a vantage-ground on the flank of England. Accordingly, the colonial Parliament was induced, not

without opposition, to follow the example of that of England. Professing to act for all Ireland, it acknowledged the royal supremacy, renounced the authority of the Pope, and gave an unwilling consent to the suppression of certain religious houses. Further suppressions followed by the King's order, so that Norman nobles and English merchants found themselves deprived of the only schools where they could educate their children, while the poor lost their chief benefactors. The Celtic masses were deeply impressed by the sermons of homeless friars, who declared that Henry, as a disobedient vassal, had forfeited Ireland to his lord the Pope. Intense indignation was excited among them by the iconoclasm which the Reformation introduced. The native annalists vividly express the feelings of an emotional people who saw their statues, shrines, and relics destroyed by sacrilegious hands. Thenceforward for them a religious grievance was bound up with one of race. The English townsmen, on the other hand, though equally Catholic remained loyal to their King, owing, no doubt, in some measure, to the need of his support against the natives. The same motive would influence the gentry of the Pale and such of the Norman lords as had definitely resolved to abandon Irish ways.

Though many of the upper clergy as well as laity had acknowledged the royal supremacy, probably

without realizing its full import, there were only two bishops who really sympathized with the Reformation, and they were natives of England, appointed by the King after his rupture with Rome. Efforts were made to check Irish pilgrimages, and to cut off Ireland from communication with the Papacy. But such things were not easily done, particularly in the Celtic districts of the north, lying towards Scotland, which was still Catholic and in close alliance with France. In some of these tribe-lands the religious houses remained, for the most part, undisturbed, and the Pope continued to appoint bishops. But, on the whole, the Church suffered severely. A large proportion of the parishes throughout the country had been served by now suppressed religious houses. Their tithes were confiscated, and the Crown, far from conferring these on the secular clergy, contrived to possess itself of some of the property of the latter, and obtained from Parliament a permanent grant of part of their income. The death of Henry left Ireland outwardly quiet, but deeply discontented. The boy who succeeded him was represented in Ireland by active Deputies, who defeated the few chieftains who ventured to rise in arms. The dominant party at Court favoured further religious change, and the innovations sanctioned by Parliament in England were promulgated in Ireland

without constitutional forms. The new liturgy was drawn up in English, a language of which the mass of the people were ignorant. The general unrest found vent in rumours of a French invasion, when the accession of a Catholic Queen in England suddenly changed the aspect of affairs.

The religious peace which Mary restored to Ireland was not accompanied by a political one. Indeed her short reign is memorable as the starting-point of the revival of the colonial policy, so exasperating to the natives. Some chieftains whose lands lay near the Pale had broken the peace in the reign of Edward, and had been again subdued. Forts had been erected to bridle them, and settlers introduced into their territories; but they rose again on the accession of Mary. It was now resolved to annex these territories to the Crown, and coop up the natives in the remote parts. The two principal fortresses were to be enlarged into regular towns, and the districts near the Pale were to be colonized by Englishmen. In this arrangement the great defect of Henry VIII's policy towards the tribes is apparent. He had treated with the chieftains as owners of the tribe-lands, which were now held to have been forfeited by their revolt. Thus the possessions of the free tribesmen, who were not subjects of the Crown, who had entered into no engagement with it, and were bound by tribal

custom to follow their chieftain in arms, were confiscated. The settlers were allowed to keep Irish husbandmen, but the rest of the population in the new settlement, clergy included, was to be English. In the western districts, which were reserved to the natives, the heads of the septs were to become tenants of the Crown, but no provision was made for the other members. In accordance with the old legislation, so frequently renewed, the Irish freeholders were required to become English in dress, laws, and language, and not to intermarry with members of their own race. Such regulations could not be easily enforced; but the fact that they were made shows the spirit of the new colonizing policy. The early invaders had seized upon the fertile lands, and left the natives, for the most part, undisturbed in the retreats. Henry VIII. had tried to turn the chieftains into subjects, without touching the tribe-lands. The policy of Mary, or her advisers, went beyond all precedent in not only depriving the natives of the best part of their lands, but following them into their retreats, there to proscribe, at least for the ruling class, all the customs and institutions which they held dear, except their religion. Even the form of confiscation was new, everything being done by statute of the colonial Parliament, where the natives, if any were present in the Upper House, were powerless. Such

measures on the part of a Government which was in reality weak, could only provoke the fears, without compelling the obedience of the greater part of Celtic Ireland.

The brief interval of religious peace came to an end on the death of Mary. The Irish policy of Elizabeth combined the defects of those of her father and sister with a cruelty and a bad faith peculiar to her reign. A true daughter of the Renaissance, she followed its traditions of duplicity in public affairs and selfish enjoyment in private life. She had no natural sympathy with the Reformation (indeed she seems to have had no strong religious convictions) but she had all the pride of a Tudor, and was resolved to be sole mistress in Church as well as State. Accordingly, Ireland, as well as England, was compelled to accept once more the ecclesiastical innovations of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. At the same time, the old confiscating policy in Ireland, which had been revived in the reign of Mary, was continued by Elizabeth. The new Queen was parsimonious by nature, and the Celtic lands served as a bait to entice the bolder spirits in England to assist in the project of Anglicizing, and to organize expeditions against some of the chieftains at their own expense. From the beginning Elizabeth may have foreseen the necessity of a regular conquest of Ireland, if her policy was to prevail there; but, if so,

she preferred to proceed tentatively, and to weaken the Celtic tribes by encouraging feuds among them in the old fashion, until the rebellions of Desmond in the south and Tyrone in the north forced her hand. Although a certain measure of toleration of the almost universal religion of both natives and colonists was conceded through necessity, religious bitterness was intensified in her reign. The old negotiations between Ireland and Catholic powers were renewed, and gained an importance they had never had before. Scotland, indeed, went over to the Reformation, and France was divided ; but Rome and Spain began to intervene with effect in Irish affairs. But although the religious motive undoubtedly gave a strong stimulus to disaffection, it cannot be said to have produced it. The natives were still deeply attached to their tribal institutions, and ready to resist English influences as far as they dared. The great lords of Norman descent wished to maintain their independence of the Crown in their own territories. Even in the Pale and the towns the gentry and merchants had other grievances than those of religion, though their English sympathies and their fear of the natives kept them more or less loyal to the Crown.

Thus, through the seriousness of the Irish rebellions, encouraged and assisted by foreign powers, the final stage in the conquest of Ireland was at

length forced upon England. It had been put off for four centuries, and it was now undertaken, not from any motive of national credit or kingly pride, but out of sheer political necessity. And until the last years of Elizabeth it was not prosecuted with sustained energy. Through the latter half of her reign it dragged along its weary course, filling Ireland with bloodshed, and misery, and all the horrors which could accompany a desultory warfare in a merciless age—the age of Alva and Catharine de' Medici. Elizabeth's soldiers, many of whom were Irish, spared neither age nor sex. Foreign enemies of England, invading or cast ashore on Ireland, received no quarter. Suspected chieftains were kidnapped, or seized, and even slaughtered at a friendly conference. Some who came in voluntarily to exculpate themselves were executed without regular trial. When other means failed, the Government sometimes tried to remove its enemies by employing hired assassins. Even the loyal district of the Pale was given over to the licence of Irish kern or raw recruits from England. As for the natives, they were driven in many places to abandon their dwellings and lead a nomadic life. Their corn being generally destroyed, their sole means of support was their cattle, which they drove away with them and concealed in the woods. When this resource failed them, they fed upon

herbs and carrion, and most of those who escaped the sword were carried off by famine.

If the tribal system was capable of developing a national resistance, the occasion for it had surely come, when the Irish race seemed threatened with extinction in its own land. But not till the last few years of the long agony was there anything like concerted action between North and South. At the commencement of Elizabeth's reign she had to contend with the ablest Celtic leader who had appeared since the Anglo-Norman Invasion. Shane O'Neill represented the principle of tanistry, or tribal election, as opposed to the claims of his rival to succeed under royal grant. By his astute diplomacy as well as his success in arms, Shane baffled the projects of the Government, and secured himself in the chieftainship of his tribe. He extended his supremacy over Ulster and part of Connaught, thus holding under his sway about a third of Ireland. But, able as he was, his ideas were those of a tribal chieftain, and he could not consolidate or maintain his princely power. He looked in vain for aid from the lords of Munster, as well as from Spain and France. At length a coalition of his subject chieftains in concert with the Deputy brought about his downfall. After his death no Irish chieftain ventured to rely solely on tribal election as the basis of his authority within his

tribe. Tanistry had to be supplemented by an understanding with the representative of the Crown, and Deputies were often conciliated by presents. New submissions were followed by fresh indentures, in some of which the rights of the free tribesmen seem to have been partially acknowledged, by making the heads of the septs parties to the arrangement. In some cases the chieftain became captain or seneschal of his district, or even sheriff of the country. Almost all Ireland had now become shireland, and renewed attempts were made to introduce English laws and habits.

Such efforts were naturally more successful in the territories of the Norman lords than in those of the chieftains. The former occupied, for the most part, an open and fertile country, comparatively easy to gain possession of and to govern. With the exception of the Connaught portion, it was ancient shireland, and in spite of Celtic influences had always retained traces of feudal law. It was, therefore, more easy to introduce there English judges and other officers of the Crown, and to partially enforce the Common Law. Provincial presidents, armed with the terrors of martial law, were placed over Munster and Connaught. The great lords, whose fathers had enjoyed semi-regal power, resented the control of the royal officers, and chafed under the grievances of their Church. Such persecution

as English Catholics suffered under Elizabeth was, indeed, impossible in Ireland, where all classes were Catholic; but the disabilities were serious enough to excite great discontent, especially among noblemen who saw themselves excluded from the royal favour on account of their religion. Moreover, they feared lest the Crown might seek to weaken Catholic influence in the settled districts by attacks on the property of Catholic landowners. A step had, in fact, been taken in that direction. An adventurer from England had brought family claims, which had lain dormant for centuries, before the Deputy and Council in Dublin, who, superseding in an unconstitutional manner the regular courts of justice, had declared him owner of lands in the possession of others within and without the Pale. The chief sufferers were Irishmen; but the injustice affected some members of the Butler family, with whom loyalty had been a tradition, and drove them into open revolt. The general discontent of the Munster lords at length found vent in the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, the head of the great house of the southern Geraldines. He relied on foreign aid, but that which he received was wholly insufficient. The Celtic chieftains of Munster held aloof, or gave little support, and there was no attempt at united action with the Irish of Ulster. Thus the effort of the South, like that of the North, of the leader of

Norman as well as the one of Celtic race, was an isolated one, and ended in disaster.

In the Pale and the old colonial towns of Leinster and Munster, where English influence had always predominated, there was also deep dissatisfaction with the Government of Elizabeth. The new-comers from England, who were mainly Protestant, affected to despise their colonial kinsmen as semi-Irish Papists. The merchant class, still Catholic almost to a man, found themselves excluded by law from municipal offices in their own towns, unless they attended the services of the state-religion, which they appear to have occasionally done as a matter of form. The whole body of townsmen were harassed by a system of fines for non-attendance at the state worship. If such laws were sometimes in abeyance, their existence was a perpetual source of irritation. Racial antipathy, however, kept the townsmen from joining in Irish revolts. The same motives influenced the nobility and gentry of the Pale in spite of special grievances. They, indeed, were comparatively free in matters of religion, the state service being practically confined to the towns; but their class had been particularly affected by the closing of the monastic schools. That class which had once controlled the centre of government now saw itself superseded by strangers from England. To provide for the expenses of Elizabeth's

Irish wars, their lands were heavily burdened with cess, an imposition levied without Parliamentary sanction, and scarcely less oppressive than the native custom of coyne and livery. When they protested against this, and sent a deputation to London, their representatives were imprisoned for impugning the royal prerogative. Nevertheless, as a body, they remained at least passively loyal. The complete failure of the outbreak headed by one of their number, Lord Baltinglass, served to show that their discontent, deep as it was, would not drive them into open rebellion.

The colonizing, or Plantation, system inaugurated in the reign of Mary was maintained and extended by her sister. The movement was favoured by the growth of an adventurous spirit in England. A beginning was made in the Celtic province of Ulster, where Elizabeth gave grants to Englishmen of tribe-lands, with whose chieftains she professed to be on friendly terms. These colonizing schemes were, indeed, a failure ; but the cruelty and treachery of the settlers and the duplicity of the Queen made the worst possible impression upon the natives. After the overthrow of Desmond, an opportunity presented itself of initiating a similar policy in the south, and planting his vast estates and those of his followers with Protestants from England. Over half a million of acres, which had escheated to the

Crown, were divided into lots and bestowed on grantees, called Undertakers, who bound themselves to take no Irish tenants. The latter condition, indeed, was found to be generally impracticable; but a certain number of English families came over to settle under some of the new landowners. The remaining proprietors of Norman descent in Munster, as well as the southern townsmen of English blood, were alienated by this new settlement, believing it to be part of a settled plan to weaken them and their religion. In Connaught and Clare, on the other hand, a more broad-minded agrarian policy was pursued. Each tribe-land was made subject to a fixed rent to the Crown in lieu of uncertain charges. The Irish rules of succession by tanistry and gavelkind were abolished. The chieftains and Celticized lords were induced to hold their private lands by royal grant, and to commute their claims for exactions from the remainder of their tribe-lands for fixed rent-charges. The heads of the various septs in each tribe bound their heirs, as a rule, to forego the exactions which were now commonly demanded by the head from the free members of the sept. The inferior class, which was without tribal rights, naturally derived no benefit from this arrangement; but its condition was probably not much worse than that of the peasantry of the Pale.

The ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth was sub-

servient to her political aims. The state-religion was simply intended to be used as an instrument in the Anglicizing process, by which it was hoped eventually to turn Ireland into an English province. But such an instrument had to be used with some caution. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, passed in Ireland in the second year of her reign, were not supplemented by the series of penal enactments which crushed Catholicism in England. The colonial Parliament, which in the latter half of her reign had been partially nationalized, and included representatives of all races, was a very different body from the English one. It was independent in tone and Catholic in sympathies, and would certainly not have consented to stringent laws against the religion of the people. Even had it done so, such laws could not have been enforced without exciting universal rebellion. So fully was this feeling realized, that no effort was made to introduce the Thirty-nine Articles in the reign of Elizabeth. At the same time the hand of the iconoclast was not idle, and images were still destroyed in the churches of Munster and Connaught. The Act of Supremacy rendered inevitable a certain amount of persecution, especially of the Catholic higher clergy, who were bound to communicate with and obey in matters of religion a foreign potentate, to whom the law denied all right of intervention within the

Queen's dominions. Bishops were imprisoned and even tortured. Priests trained in seminaries abroad, where alone they could now be trained, were objects of suspicion to the Government ; still more so were strange friars and Jesuits. Such men were not, indeed, likely to draw distinctions between religious and political influences which the law itself did not make. After the publication of the Deposing Bull of Pius V. they were naturally still more strongly suspected. The Government strove to keep them out of Ireland, and finally proclaimed their banishment. All this time the State Church made no serious effort to take over the mission which she denied to her rival. The Reformed service was scarcely performed outside of the towns. The state clergy are described by Protestant contemporaries as impoverished and devoid of religious zeal. Even the bishops were for the most part ignorant and corrupt, and some of the Sees were in the hands of laymen. Of the few people who had conformed, nearly all fell away under the influence of the zealous missionaries of the old Church who came from abroad.

In the midst of general discontent a leader had been lacking who could unite natives and colonists under the banner of their common faith. Indeed, Elizabeth could count so securely on Catholic disunion, that the majority of the rank and file in her

Irish army had been Catholics. But an Irishman at length appeared, who, if he could not create a united Ireland, at least succeeded in forming a confederacy far more wide-spread and powerful than any which England had hitherto had to face. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was the most striking lay figure which Ireland had produced since the days of Brian. He had been brought up at the English Court, and had served the Queen in her Irish wars. As a reward for his loyalty, he had received an earldom and a grant of his native Tyrone from the Crown. At first he seemed to conduct himself more like an English nobleman than an Irish chieftain. But after a time this Anglicized Celt became the most formidable enemy of the Crown in Ireland. The very qualities which distinguished him from the typical Celtic chieftain, the prudence and foresight, which he had acquired at the Court of Elizabeth, gave him influence among a people who have always been quick to discern practical abilities in a popular leader. Perceiving that kern and gallow-glasses could do little against the new weapons and methods of warfare, he trained his men to the use of pikes and muskets, and formed a squadron of cavalry. With this force he put himself at the head of the Ulster tribes, and won the greatest victory which Ireland had gained since that of Clontarf over the Northmen. He was now recog-

nized by the Pope, as well as by Spain, as champion of the Catholic cause in Ireland. The northern confederacy quickly spread through Celtic and some old Norman territories. The new settlers in Munster were driven from their homes, and suffered cruel vengeance at the hands of the natives. Tyrone made a semi-royal progress into the south, where he set up a ruler from among the Geraldines, and gave him the title of Earl of Desmond. Connaught for the most part joined in the revolt, while the Pale was neutral or loyal. The colonial English of the towns remained passive, though suspected of Spanish sympathies. It was on the help of Spain that Tyrone chiefly relied, but that help was long deferred. In the meantime Elizabeth poured troops into Ireland, and Tyrone had to return for the defence of Ulster. In his absence Munster was subdued. When at length a Spanish force landed at Kinsale, it was too small to give effective assistance; and on the reappearance of Tyrone in the south, only the chieftains of West Munster and a few lords rose again. An attempt, against Tyrone's judgment, to surprise and storm the English camp ended in disaster. The Spaniards withdrew, and Tyrone, once more assailed in Ulster, was forced to make submission. With him Ireland was conquered at last.

The century which had elapsed since the close of

the mediæval period had been an eventful one. It had seen a check at length put to the Celtic reaction, which at one time seemed to threaten with absorption the whole Anglo-Norman colony. It had witnessed the beginning of a new Anglicizing process, which was attended by the introduction of a new religion, and the establishment of a State Church, repudiated by the people at large, both native and colonist. The land-confiscation and colonizing policy had been renewed in a systematic form, and menaced the interests, not only of Celtic tribes, but of colonial proprietors. Thus the two great modern factors in the Irish problem had already come into prominence—religion and land. The only effect of such penalties as the Government had ventured to enforce against the old faith was to strengthen its hold on the masses and increase the zeal of its ministers. The old division between the Celtic clergy and those of the Pale gradually disappeared under a common persecution. A much feebler link connected the laity of native and colonial race in the name of religion. Old fears and jealousies kept them apart, and combined with the tribal spirit to prevent a universal rebellion. The distinct revolts of leaders of Norman and Celtic race were suppressed, and the whole country more or less pacified. But Ireland was no longer isolated from the rest of the world. In the course of the

century she had begun to look to foreign powers, especially to the Latin peoples, for sympathy and support, and the second great exodus of Irishmen, which may be called the military one, had begun. The rivalry of Spain with England had re-kindled Irish hopes, when, at the last moment of Celtic independence, a real leader arose, of Celtic blood and English training, who formed a confederacy, which included many of the Norman lords of the south as well as the chieftains of the north. His downfall, after tardy and insufficient help from Spain, left all Ireland for the first time open to English rule.

Outside of the great tribe-lands of Ulster, English influence had been steadily gaining ground during the reign of Elizabeth. Though Irish customs had been widely revived during the short-lived triumph of Tyrone, the changes which had previously taken place made the general state of society at the beginning of the seventeenth century, except in the northern province, different, in some respects, from what it had been a hundred years before. The once Celticized districts had been brought under the rule of the Crown, and, partially at least, under English law. In Munster a Protestant colony had been planted, weak indeed in numbers, but strong in the possession of forfeited lands and the favour of the Government. The Pale had more than

doubled in size, by taking in the western marches of Leinster. Munster and Connaught were now under separate governors and councils. Some of the Celtic territories had submitted to such English institutions as sheriffs and juries. The English system of land tenure had been, in some measure, established in Connaught and Clare, and in one of the border tribe-lands of Ulster. But, in spite of proscriptive laws, the Irish dress and language prevailed among the general population outside of the towns. The chieftains, indeed, occasionally dressed in the English fashion, while the Norman lords did so habitually, and probably now spoke English, with few exceptions, as their mother-tongue.

The walled towns, inhabited chiefly by men of old English race, to whom the new settlers from the mother-country gave the appellation of English-Irish, seem to have undergone little change during the course of the century. Subject to disabilities through their attachment to the old religion, and living in a country devastated by war and famine, their citizens had not shared in the new spirit of enterprise and material progress, which had wrought such a revolution in Elizabethan England. The traveller of that date would look in vain in an Irish town for new buildings of brick and stone, for stacks of chimneys, for glass casements instead of open lattices. Within doors he would commonly

miss the comforts and refinements which made cheerful even humble homes in the reign of Elizabeth—the pewter and silver plate, the tapestry and carpets, the couches of down and embroidered coverlets. If he went into the neighbouring rural districts, he would nowhere find stately mansions of mingled Gothic and Renaissance art, like those which had arisen in England. No new hospitals were springing up, no system of poor relief was instituted to replace the old monastic provision for the infirm and the needy. The gap between the material civilization of the colony and that of the mother-country was wider than it had ever been.

Still less had the colonists been able to keep pace with their kinsmen in the intellectual order. The great wave of the classical revival had hardly touched the shores of Ireland. She had not contributed, save through one of the new settlers, to the lustre of the Elizabethan Muse. The old monastic schools of the Pale had been closed. The only substitute for members of the old faith were a few private educational establishments in the towns, still tolerated by the Government. The Act of Elizabeth for erecting diocesan free-schools had remained a dead letter. One centre of learning was, however, established, which, though closed for two hundred years to the Catholic majority, obtained

a real success, and, in the course of time, took, for lack of a rival, the position of a quasi-national university. Over four centuries had passed since the Anglo-Norman settlement without a regular university being founded. Mediæval Ireland had never known the humanizing influence of an Oxford or a Paris. Not till the end of the sixteenth century, and then only for a small minority of the population, did such a centre of higher culture come into being. The College of All Hallows, outside the city walls, became the seat of Ireland's first and, in the full sense of the word, only university. Composed of a single college, the University of Dublin could, nevertheless, soon produce scholars fit to compare with those who had been trained in the historic institutions of other countries. And if in fame and grandeur she cannot vie with her elder sisters in England, if she wants the vigour of Cambridge and the grace of Oxford, she can make the boast, at once proud and sad, that for centuries she has well-nigh absorbed the higher intellectual life of a whole country. Most of the famous Irish names through that long period are linked with hers; the early memories they awaken cluster around those venerable walls. Well may Irishmen of all creeds and classes wish this famous university to live and prosper. Jealously should they guard her rights

and privileges, so that, whatever changes time may bring, this citadel of scholarship in a land of lax learning may suffer no loss beyond that of the monopoly which she still enjoys.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONFISCATIONS

THE accession of the Scottish King to the English throne aroused new hopes in Ireland. He was believed to be well disposed towards Catholics, and his claim had been supported by Englishmen of that persuasion. The misfortunes of his mother and her devotion to the Catholic cause had excited sympathies which were now revived in his favour. Indeed he seems at first to have been regarded almost as a supporter of the old religion. The scenes which had taken place on the accession of Mary were re-enacted. In some districts, particularly in the towns of Munster, the populace took possession of the churches, and openly celebrated the ancient rites. They were quickly undeceived by the approach of the Lord Deputy with an armed force to sustain the claims of the State Church. The movement collapsed, and after a while the new King, fearing Puritan disaffection in England, became actively hostile to the old faith. He issued

a proclamation, repudiating all idea of toleration, and commanding the Catholic clergy to leave Ireland. The statute of Elizabeth was put in force, and supplemented by heavy fines and imprisonment, inflicted by a novel exercise of the royal prerogative on the wealthier citizens of the towns. The Oath of Supremacy, which had fallen into disuse, began once more to be tendered to mayors and other officers. The gentry of the Pale who ventured to protest against the policy of religious persecution, were punished by the arrest of their leaders. In secular matters, on the other hand, a more liberal course was pursued. A general pardon was published, and the native race all over Ireland was taken under the King's immediate protection. While the people at large were thus recognized as the King's subjects, and gained rights of citizenship under English law, the power of the lords and chieftains was curtailed. Sheriffs were everywhere introduced, and justices travelled on circuit to enforce the Common Law in the heart of Ulster itself. By a decision of the Court of King's Bench in Dublin the customs of tanistry and gavelkind, which had lingered on in Celtic districts, were declared void. The great chieftains of the north now saw clearly that their power was gone for ever. They had, indeed, obtained certain concessions on their submission; but the spirit, if not the letter, of

the terms then granted was violated. Wherever they looked they found themselves hampered by officers or emissaries of the Government, whose policy it plainly was to weaken them in every way. They were called upon to recognize their sub-chieftains as independent, and to turn their kinsmen into freeholders, while they knew that adventurers from England were casting longing eyes upon their lands. Whether or not they were involved in a new project of revolt, they suddenly left Ireland and sought refuge on the Continent, hastening by their flight the downfall of the remnant of the tribal system.

Was it not well that it should pass away, leaving hardly a trace behind? In such a society what hope could there ever be of peace or progress, of sound political or social life? What civilizing influence could Christianity itself bring to bear upon a society which the all-powerful principle of kinship had divided into groups, at constant feud with one another; in which the domestic life, the lever of the Church, was made subordinate to the life of the sept? If Irishmen were ever to become one people, if Ireland was ever to enter the community of nations, some force must interpose to overthrow a system which paralysed Irish energies. If in Ireland the Celt had never undergone the discipline of ancient Rome, and could not imbibe the great

Roman ideas of order and unity from the Church, was it in itself an evil that he should come under the laws of a neighbouring people, whose country lay between his own and the Continent, and which, under Continental influence, had ages before emerged from the tribal state? Why Celtic Irishmen in those days could not readily reconcile themselves to so great a change is easily understood. The way in which it was made, the sudden sweeping away of old customs in place of their gradual extinction, the conservative sentiment so strong in the Celtic breast, would naturally make Irishmen abandon with regret their worn-out institutions. What may seem stranger is that even at the present day the old form of society sometimes awakens a vague sympathy. Yet for this there is a historical reason. Had Celtic Ireland perished, as it ought to have perished, at a remote epoch, the Irishman of to-day would feel no stronger attraction towards it than the modern Frenchman feels towards Celtic Gaul, or the modern Englishman towards Anglo-Saxon England. It was the persistence of tribalism in Ireland, its survival there into comparatively recent times, which gave it an undue historical importance, and gives it even now in some eyes the aspect of a national organization, which it never was. And this impression is favoured by the glamour which imagination throws over a wild and eventful past. It was so keen, so

passionate, so careless, this old Celtic life, so Irish in its reverence for relationship and hospitality, that the modern Irishman of Celtic descent is tempted to forget its moral and material weakness. He would not revive it if he could, but in certain moods he cannot avoid breathing a sigh over its grave.

The disappearance of the great northern chieftains smoothed the way for a project which lay near to the heart of the King and his counsellors. It was proposed to extend to Ulster the plantation system which had been adopted in Munster during the previous reign, but, at the same time, to avoid the errors of detail which, it was believed, had caused the failure of colonization in the southern province. In this way it was hoped that the demands of English adventurers would be satisfied, while order and progress would be introduced into the wild districts of the north. Even before the Flight of the Earls, the King's Attorney-General in Ireland, Sir John Davis, had given it as his private opinion that the Crown was entitled to resume the greater part of Tyrone, on the ground that the grant of Elizabeth had not bestowed on the Earl a property in any part of the earldom except his demesne-lands. This view, in fact, fully recognized the original rights of the tribesmen, whom it regarded as freeholders. After the flight a proclamation assured

the inhabitants of Tyrone and Tyrconnell that, as long as they behaved as dutiful subjects, they should not be disturbed in the peaceable possession of their lands. Nevertheless the attainder of the Earls and their companions was followed by the forfeiture of the greater part of Ulster. Proceedings began in Cavan, where the strange and significant sight was seen of a lawyer of the Pale appearing on behalf of the claims of his Celtic co-religionists. Sir John Davis, however, refused to hear him, on the ground that his clients had no estates in English law. In contradiction to his former view, as well as the principle that had been acted on in the settlements of Connaught and Monaghan, he now held that, even under the Brehon law, the tribesmen were mere villeins. The natives, perceiving that their cause was lost, prepared sullenly to meet their fate.

All Ulster was not included in the Plantation scheme. The county of Monaghan had been, like Connaught and Clare, divided chiefly among tribesmen in the reign of Elizabeth; and after this settlement had been disturbed by the rebellion of Tyrone, it was restored on the same lines by a Commission appointed by King James. The eastern coast of Ulster, embracing the old Anglo-Norman districts, which had been mostly re-Celticized, also lay outside of the Plantation. It had, in fact, already been partially occupied by colonists from Scotland,

who, through negotiations with the chieftains or grants from the Crown, had obtained the best parts of Down and Antrim. This spontaneous immigration into Ulster from the opposite shore was quite a different thing from the organized colonization of the Plantation. In the former case Scottish colonists of the Presbyterian persuasion, persecuted at home, emigrated to a neighbouring coast, where they could enjoy religious freedom, and easily keep up communication with their countrymen in Scotland. The Plantation, on the other hand, was an attempt from mainly political motives to introduce English and Scottish colonists into the heart of Ulster, where they were largely out-numbered by the natives. Of necessity such settlements would be scattered, and cut off from support from England and Scotland. Nevertheless, the plan was boldly carried out. The wild tracts of bog and mountain seem to have been left in the occupation of the natives. The more fertile lands were divided, in very unequal proportions, among the British colonists or Undertakers, the King's servitors in Ireland, and the former owners. The latter class had to pay a higher Crown rent than the others, their allotments were much smaller individually as well as collectively, and they were planted for the most part on inferior land. Many tribesmen, left landless, took refuge in the woods, where they

led the lives of outlaws. Others were sent beyond the seas to fight the battles of the Protestant King of Sweden against their co-religionists in Germany. Many joined their countrymen abroad and entered the service of Catholic powers, especially Spain. In some cases the dispossessed tribesman was fain to become tenant to the English or Scottish settler. The Undertakers, indeed, unlike the servitors, were forbidden to take Irish tenants; but in practice this rule was not generally observed. Many of the colonists lacked capital, and had not enough cattle to stock the wide ranges of pasture land; whereas a native might often be found who could do so, and was willing to pay a higher price for the privilege than a tenant from England or Scotland. Native labour was also cheap and abundant, and was found indispensable at first by the scattered settlers.

The settlement of Ulster was thus accomplished. Some twenty or thirty thousand colonists of English and Scottish blood took up their residence in the six escheated counties, and began to sow the seeds of a higher civilization in those wild districts. No consideration of short-sightedness or injustice in the policy which dictated this settlement can blind the impartial student to the wholesome change which began to pass over the face of portions of the northern province. In place of Irish cabins of

sods and wattles surrounded with rude earthen ramparts, commodious houses in enclosures of stone arose. Lands which had lain waste were fenced in for tillage, and began to bloom with luxuriant harvests. Orchards were planted, and bore fruits which had rarely, if ever, ripened in those regions. The Celtic manufacture of linen was developed on a larger scale and an improved system. A reformed coinage circulated as the medium of exchange. The bridle-paths widened into roads. Bridges were thrown across the rivers. The splash of the mill-wheel broke the stillness of the lonely valley, and the virgin forest rang under the axe of the woodman. Throughout Ulster there was a new life, a strange impulse, which must have aroused the wonder of the dispossessed race. The practical lesson of thrift and perseverance which the native had to learn, the spirit of order, the sense of citizenship might thus be conveyed to him in time by the example of the colonist. But at first a bitter sense of wrong would naturally prevent him from taking the lesson to heart.

Marked as was the change which the settlement introduced into Ulster, it was much less associated than has been often supposed with an infusion of Teutonic blood. In truth, the modern descendants of the colonists may be regarded as a mixed race whose blood is largely, if not mainly, Celtic.

The bulk of the settlers were Scotchmen, of whom the majority naturally came from the south-western parts of Scotland, comprising Celtic Galloway and what had once been the Celtic Kingdom of Strathclyde. The preponderance of the Scottish element is proved even at the present day by the prevailing dialect, character, and religious system of the Protestants of Ulster. These Scottish colonists, from their ruder mode of life, were better adapted than Englishmen to the hardships of a colonial existence. Moreover, they appear from the first to have mingled more freely with the natives. In such a colony the men must have largely outnumbered the women, and many Scotchmen seem to have taken Irish wives. In this way a race of mingled Scottish and Irish blood, bearing Scottish surnames, would grow up in Ulster. It may have been partly on account of this alliance between races already akin to each other that, in the native uprising in the next generation, Scottish settlers were treated at first with more humanity than English ones. The Scottish immigration into Ulster continued to flow for the remainder of the seventeenth century, and impressed the population of the settled districts with the stamp which the Scottish character has borne since the religious revolution.

In England the Reformation had tended to

weaken ecclesiastical influence. The supremacy which Henry VIII. had asserted over the Church was in turn asserted by Parliament. In Scotland, on the other hand, the Calvinistic Reformation established a strong and independent clergy. The minister of the parish was really its political as well as its ecclesiastical head. He exercised a rigorous censorship over the faith and morals of his congregation, and ventured to defy the power of the great and noble. Such a system was not without its practical advantages in the then state of Scottish society. It weakened the lingering influence of feudalism, and served as a transitional stage in the progress to modern society. Under such new influences the character of the Scotchman diverged widely from that of his ancestors. Imbued with the stern theology of Geneva, he developed a severity of temperament, a cautious and persevering energy, which contrasted strongly with the light-hearted enterprise of the bygone age of Scottish chivalry. A happy union of English common-sense with Celtic acuteness carried him along the path of progress; while his theological bent kept alive the philosophical spirit and the love of deductive reasoning which had prevailed in the Middle Ages. Thus belonging to the past as well as to the present, and springing from two widely different races, he could be theoretical as well as practical,

subtle as well as simple. Far inferior as Scotland was in point of material civilization to the England of that day, she was destined to possess in her parish schools an intellectual instrument which could not fail, in the long run, to put her on terms of social equality with the southern kingdom. But the Scottish genius was still in its infancy. As yet there was no promise of that intellectual and industrial outburst which was to give Scotchmen so high a place among modern peoples.

The Plantation of Ulster was followed by confiscations in other parts of Ireland. These were indeed on a much smaller scale, but they were carried out with as little scruple. In Wexford, where there was no question of rebellion, the Government lawyers went back more than a hundred years to find a title for the Crown to a large district, through the attainder of an English nobleman, whose ancestors had once obtained a grant of the coveted lands. The actual proprietors, some of whom were of Anglo-Norman descent, were ejected, without being given an opportunity of answering the claim, which the Crown had transferred by patent to a couple of adventurers from England. The greater part of the lands were, indeed, re-granted to former owners. But many, especially the lesser freeholders, received no share, and taking to a life of brigandage they were cut off

as outlaws. In the heart of Ireland, in Leitrim, Longford, and Westmeath, similar small plantations were made. But those isolated districts could not be colonized as those of Ulster had been, if but because they were so far from Scotland. A larger scheme of confiscation was afterwards entertained. It transpired that the new patents for Connaught and Clare, which King James had granted to the owners, to replace those which had been granted by Elizabeth, but never delivered, had, through the negligence of the officers, not been enrolled in Chancery. Their enrolment had been duly paid for by the patentees; yet the Crown, relying on the technical defect, laid claim to the whole province of Connaught. So strong a feeling of opposition was aroused by this claim, that the King, had he lived, would perhaps have consented to waive it in consideration of a fine, which was offered to him by the owners for confirmation of the patents.

The Ulster settlement brought a new political force into Ireland which the Government was not slow to utilize. No Parliament had been held there since the accession of James. The Lower House would of necessity have been mainly composed of Catholics, who would have opposed the Protestant Plantation. It now became possible to introduce a strong Protestant element by creating fresh constituencies in the settled districts. Boroughs were

made out of new villages, and the elections were so managed as to secure a working Protestant majority in the House of Commons. The presence of the bishops of the Established Church produced a similar result in the Upper House. The Catholic minority in both Houses was chiefly composed of Anglo-Normans, there being comparatively few peers of Celtic race, and Celtic members being only returned for a few constituencies, where Irish freeholders were numerous. A Parliament in which the mass of the people were so slightly represented could not be described as national. Nevertheless it reflected the feeling of the native race more faithfully than any previous one, owing to the community of interests between them and their ancient enemies, the descendants of the old colonists. Both were now prepared to unite in self-defence against the Protestant majority on the vital questions of religion and land. Indeed the Catholic minority behaved at first with remarkable boldness, and protested vigorously against the irregular constitution of the House of Commons. Attempts were made to intimidate them by imprisoning the deputies whom they sent to the King, and enforcing the penalties against recusancy, but they had little effect.

As time went on, the course of events in England began to favour Catholic interests in

Ireland. Charles I. stood in need of money and a standing army, to assert his theory of the royal prerogative against the growing opposition of the English Parliament. When he could not obtain these things in England, he turned to Ireland, and attempted to conciliate his Catholic subjects in that kingdom. Recusant mayors were reinstated, or allowed to be re-elected, in some of the towns. It was agreed that an Oath of Allegiance should be substituted for that of Supremacy, which kept conscientious Catholics out of public offices, as well as from practising at the Bar, and prevented Catholic wards from suing livery of their lands. The Crown consented to acknowledge undisturbed possession of landed property for sixty years as a bar to any claim on its part, and to permit the enrolment of the patents for lands in Connaught and Clare. Concessions were at the same time made to Ulster planters who had violated the conditions of the Plantation grants; and facilities were allowed for trade with England and other parts of the King's dominions. These provisions were to be confirmed by a Parliament to be summoned in Ireland. In the meantime, a large annual sum was to be paid to the King for three years. The Catholics, who contributed nearly two-thirds of this sum, were much emboldened by their success. Their hopes ran so high that they actually

attempted to re-take possession of the churches in Monaghan. In Dublin mass was openly attended and a new friary was built. The Catholic movement soon caused uneasiness to the Government, and efforts were made to check it. The promised Parliament had not been convoked, but since the contribution from Ireland would soon come to an end, it appeared necessary to provide in some way for an Irish revenue.

At this crisis the King resolved to send the boldest of his counsellors to govern Ireland. For the first time in her history she fell fully under the control of a ruler of men. In Thomas Viscount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, were found the first essentials for governing a Celtic people—keen insight and strength of character, if he was lacking in a third quality, in the long run equally necessary—a broad human sympathy. Sent to Ireland to make of it a source of strength instead of weakness to a would-be despot, he set about his task with the quick decision of genius. Wherever his eye fell it lit on abuses. He found officials without public spirit, and divided by private feuds; the army reduced to a mere fragment, and living from hand to mouth; the finances in disorder; juries deciding by fear or favour; adventurers plotting their personal enrichment by intrigue and confiscation. The State Church was

in a condition almost as unsatisfactory as that in which it had been in the reign of Elizabeth. Wentworth made the reform of these abuses and the encouragement of industry the basis of his Irish policy. The changes which he effected in a short time were marvellous. The army was regularly paid, and became a strong and disciplined force. Pirates were driven from the Irish coast. The finances were reduced to order, and the revenue, instead of a deficit, yielded a large surplus. Justice was purified and law enforced. Wentworth grappled boldly with the long-standing abuses of the Established Church. He introduced superior flax-seed and skilled workmen, from abroad, and firmly established the linen manufacture in the north. Political distrust did not prevent him from re-opening commercial relations with the Catholic power of Spain, where so many Irishmen had found refuge. By dexterously exciting the hopes and fears of both parties in Parliament he obtained from them large supplies, without fulfilling the promises of the King. Having thus made use of the Legislature for his own purposes, he practically governed without it. His aim was to increase the resources of Ireland in his master's interest. He saw intuitively that the backward condition of Ireland, being the result of historical and geographical causes, could be remedied by a strong

and active government. His mind was too large, and his intellect too clear, to harbour the narrow scorn of race, which had so largely contributed to the failure of English policy in Ireland. Part of his plan undoubtedly was to make Ireland Protestant in the end ; but he saw clearly that this could not be done at the time, and he was prepared to continue a limited toleration outside the law to the Catholic religion, while he actually persecuted Protestant Dissenters in Ulster.

Thus far the success of Wentworth in the government of Ireland had been great. His capital error was committed in connection with the ever critical question of Irish land. Herein his political judgment seems to have failed him. He was certainly not more scrupulous than the counsellors of James had been, but he might have been expected to foresee dangers to which they had been blind. Yet he did not hesitate to revive their policy of confiscation, and that at a time when he relied upon Ireland to defend his master's cause against the Puritans in England. The Irish army, mainly composed of Catholics, was indeed officered by Protestants ; but its sympathies could not fail to be with the old landowners, who were then regarded as the natural leaders of the Celtic masses. Wentworth now proposed, regardless of his master's honour, to obtain surrenders of estates on the ground of defective

title, and to renew the schemes of colonization, which had been practically abandoned. He went in person to Connaught, where he summoned the County Jurors, and, by a mixture of cajolery and terrorism, induced them, for the most part, to find that the land in that province belonged to the Crown. Thus were landowners of Norman as well as Celtic descent deprived of their property. The same tactics were pursued with even greater success in parts of Munster. But before Wentworth could reap the fruits of confiscation, his rule in Ireland came to an abrupt close.

The disappearance of the strong man from the scene let loose the pent-up feelings of distrust and hatred which fear alone had held in check among natives and colonists. To gain his objects he had spared no race or class, and all now remembered their wrongs. The Catholics had no love for Puritanism, yet their representatives in Parliament joined with Protestants and with the Puritan party in England to effect his ruin. The army which he had raised was disbanded. The Catholic reaction, which he had stemmed, began to flow more strongly than ever. A slight majority enabled Catholics to control the House of Commons. At the same time the new governors of Ireland, like the Puritan party with which they sympathized, were wholly wanting in foresight. Reports were widely spread

of an intention to uproot the Catholic religion, and such reports gained colour from the conduct of the dominant party towards Catholics in England and Scotland. During a peace of forty years the Catholic Celts of Ireland had passively submitted to circumstances. They had abandoned, in a great measure, their Irish customs and their native dress. At the same time, they must have largely increased in numbers, while their old tribe-lands had been curtailed by plantations, and what had been left to the tribesmen had been mostly divided among them in small shares, which often came to be heavily mortgaged, if not sold outright. A great body of landless gentlemen, including younger sons of petty landholders, men to whom no career was open, must thus have remained idle on the soil. To such men the consciousness of their growing strength and the weakness of the Irish Executive, as well as the example of a successful uprising in Scotland, would give strong encouragement towards a project of revolt on behalf of their religion and race. The opportunity was too favourable to be lost, and the great Celtic rebellion astonished the politicians of the English Parliament.

The false confidence which the apparent resignation of the native race for more than a generation had bred in their masters, now served to distort in the minds of the latter the real nature of the out-

break. It was no deliberate plan to massacre the settlers, or to assert Irish independence; but its simple purpose was to undo the work of confiscation and religious change. Organized by men of Celtic blood, it did not aim at restoring the tribal customs or the tribal laws. Its leaders actually professed to act in the King's name. It was a popular uprising, attended by passion and violence, and certain to avenge past injuries with the cruelty which has always marked the revolts of subject races. The atrocities perpetrated by the natives were rivalled by the Protestant settlers and soldiers, wherever they had the upper hand. In truth, a merciful warfare had never been known in Ireland, and was more than ever improbable at a period when Puritanism prevailed in England.

The rebellion, originating in the north, soon spread among the old Celtic districts all over Ireland; and it was, after a time, supported by the descendants of the old colonists, who had come to be known as "old English" or "new Irish." The Irish governors treated it from the first as a purely anti-Protestant movement, and practically forced the Anglo-Normans to make common cause with their Celtic co-religionists. The great bulk of them had remained perfectly loyal after the outbreak. But when the gentry of the Pale found their lands laid waste and their followers massacred by soldiers of the Crown, while

they were forbidden to keep arms for protection against the rebels, or even to remain in Dublin, and when the Parliament, in which alone they could represent their grievances, had been prorogued, while that of England had passed a resolution against toleration of their religion, they were virtually driven to raise the standard of revolt, at the same time protesting their loyalty to the King. The example of Presbyterian Scotland was now openly followed by Catholic Ireland. The people went to war with the King's Government in the name of the King. Before long, Charles, hard-pressed by the English Parliament, was fain to treat with subjects who had set up an independent Government in Ireland, as he had treated with his rebellious subjects in Scotland. The English power in Ireland was once more practically confined to a few towns and districts on the coasts. The Catholics formed a confederation, which met at Kilkenny, and which was virtually a Parliament without any Protestant members, and comprising the prelates of the Catholic Church. As in the Parliament, the Anglo-Norman element predominated over the Celtic, and the administration of affairs outside of Ulster was chiefly in its hands. An executive council was appointed. Troops were levied, to which soldiers of the disbanded army gave an element of cohesion. Courts were estab-

lished to administer the laws of the realm. A revenue was raised, coins were minted, and negotiations were opened with foreign powers.

But this alliance between Catholics of both races was of a precarious nature. In spite of their common grievances, a common policy was not easy to find. They had no mutual confidence or sympathy, and looked at things from different points of view. The Celt, although he showed no desire to revive the tribal system—of which, indeed, the new generation which had arisen had no recollection—was still more or less influenced by the tribal spirit. He looked for a local leader of his own blood. He had no natural feeling of loyalty to the English King. He thought that the soil of Ireland should belong to the Celtic race. The Anglo-Norman, on the other hand, looked for support to English loyalists. He had a genuine attachment to the English Crown and to the mother-country. He remembered that his forefathers had struggled for centuries against the natives, and had won from them the fertile lands he now held. Even the religious question presented itself in somewhat different lights to men of different races. In the old Celtic districts the power of the clergy had increased with the fall of tribalism. The priest had in some measure taken the place of the chieftain. The claims of the Church were high, and undisputed

by the layman. In the Anglo-Norman districts, on the other hand, her jurisdiction was restricted by old English laws and precedents dear to the lawyers of the Pale. Part of her old possessions was in the hands of Catholic laymen, who were averse from the idea of restoring them. In addition to such points of difference, the Anglo-Norman, long since weaned from Celtic tendencies, and proud of his superiority in education and refinement, could hardly agree as yet to work on terms of equality with the representatives of the native race.

Divided as they were, the strength of the Catholics lay in the divisions of their opponents. The Protestant minority comprised a royalist as well as a Puritan section. The appointment of Ormond as Lord Lieutenant made the King's interest dominant in the Government, and led to negotiations with the Confederates. Though Charles behaved with his usual duplicity, an understanding was at length arrived at between Ormond and the Catholic Council in Kilkenny. They agreed to a truce, both parties to remain for a twelvemonth in the positions they actually held. The Celtic party in Ulster, now led by Owen Roe O'Neill, a nephew of the great Earl of Tyrone, who had won distinction in the service of Spain, opposed this arrangement. It was also condemned by the great body of the Catholic clergy. But the Anglo-Norman party, forming

the great majority in the Convention, carried their point. Hostilities, however, continued with the Puritan forces, who ignored the truce. The Confederates now sent a small force to the Scottish Highlands, which fought gallantly for the King under Montrose. But it was in England that Charles most needed help; and in his anxiety to obtain reinforcements from Ireland, he instructed Ormond to negotiate with the Confederates for a regular peace.

The course of affairs in Ireland had been attentively watched by the Catholic powers of the Continent, in particular by the Papal See. It seemed as if the time had at length come for a religious reaction in the north of Europe. The Protestants of Great Britain appeared hopelessly divided, and incapable of retaining their hold on Catholic Ireland. A practically independent Ireland, linked to England and Scotland by a common sovereignty, might do much for the Catholic cause in those countries. A Papal envoy had already been sent to Ireland, but his place was now taken by a more formal representative, who entered Kilkenny in state as a regular nuncio. This prelate, Rinuccini, Bishop of Fermo, quickly discerned the lack of sympathy between the large-limbed, rude-living Celtic gentry, unversed in affairs and without legal knowledge, and the smaller-sized,

active-minded, lawyer-like Anglo-Normans. On both sides he failed to find that wide view of the interests of their religion which he seems to have looked for. However, he found himself from the first more in sympathy with the Celtic leaders. The constitutional scruples of the Anglo-Normans, and their eagerness to come to terms with the King, roused the suspicions of the nuncio, who, with more of the impetuosity than the diplomatic prudence of an Italian, threw himself into the arms of the opposite faction.

The jealousies of the rival powers of France and Spain had prevented either from rendering active assistance to the Irish Catholics. Both had been lavish of sympathy, but had given little material aid in money or arms. Nevertheless, Ireland obtained valuable assistance from the Continent by the return of officers of Irish blood who had been trained in foreign wars. The best generals in the three provinces were supplied from this source. One of them, Owen Roe O'Neill, at length won in Ulster the greatest victory which Celtic Ireland had gained since the battle of Clontarf. This victory was duly celebrated in Kilkenny; but, as a purely Celtic one, it aroused jealousy and misgiving in the Anglo-Norman party. They now hastened to publish a treaty, which they had made with the Lord Lieutenant some months before.

To moderate men the terms of that treaty might fairly seem a charter of Catholic liberties. It provided that in future Catholics might take an Oath of Allegiance instead of Supremacy, thus reopening to them offices of dignity and emolument. A Parliament was to be summoned, with power to assert its independence within the limits of Irish law. All laws passed to the prejudice of Catholics since the outbreak of the Rebellion were to be repealed. All outlawries and attainders were to be made void. The titles to lands in Connaught and Clare were to be confirmed by statute, and the Crown claims made by Strafford in Wicklow and Kilkenny were to be reconsidered in an equitable spirit. The Court of Wards, so odious to Catholics, was to be abolished, in consideration of a money grant to the Crown. Catholic universities were to be established. The Confederates were to have power to levy taxes for the defence of the Kingdom. In return for these concessions—which, if really made, would practically leave the government of Ireland in their hands, subject to the supervision of the Lord Lieutenant—they were to raise a force of ten thousand men for service in England.

But with this treaty the nuncio, the bulk of the Catholic clergy, and the Celts of Ulster were utterly dissatisfied. To the latter it held out no prospect

of retaining the Plantation lands, from which they had driven the settlers. The Catholic Church, now re-established in fact, if not in law, over nearly the whole country, enjoying a moiety of the ecclesiastical revenues, and in possession of the sacred edifices, was given no promise of being maintained in that position. The interference of the Protestant Ormond in the management of Catholic affairs was profoundly distrusted. The only guarantee for the observance of the treaty on the part of England was the faith of a King whose faithlessness had become a proverb, and whose fortunes were at a low ebb. It was resolved to repudiate the treaty. The mass of the population, both in Celtic and Anglo-Norman districts, supported the nuncio; and the appearance of the victorious O'Neill in Kilkenny overawed the opposite party. The Council was deposed, and its unpopular members imprisoned, and a new one, with the nuncio as its president, took its place. The Lord Lieutenant was besieged in Dublin, but there was no harmony among the Confederate generals, and the city once more escaped capture. At length Ormond, despairing of the royal cause in Ireland, surrendered the capital to the Parliamentary forces, and retired to France.

The Puritan troops, victorious over the King in England, now began to pour into Ireland. It was not long before the Confederates found they had

to do with very different opponents from their former ones. But the two factions into which they were divided were now openly hostile to each other, and made separate truces with the common enemy. At last the nuncio, hopeless of his mission, left Ireland; but the return of Ormond, with full powers to deal with the Catholics, outwardly restored union among them in the perilous position in which they found themselves. Their forces were defeated under the walls of Dublin; and shortly afterwards Cromwell landed in Ireland. All the chances of success were in his favour: a divided and dispirited enemy, ill-supplied with arms and money; and on his own side an army abundantly provided with all necessaries, in a splendid state of discipline, and full of fanatical courage under a leader who had never known defeat. No attempt was made to oppose such an army in the open field. O'Neill died on his march southwards, and the other royalist and Catholic generals merely hung on Cromwell's path, avoiding a general engagement. The Puritan leader aimed at securing the towns of Leinster and Munster. The capture of Drogheda and Wexford, followed by massacres of the inhabitants, who were largely of old English descent, struck terror into the other towns, most of which surrendered.

The spirit of resistance having been broken, Ireland was once more thoroughly conquered. No

other result, indeed, was possible without that assistance from abroad, which, though long hoped for, never came. Even had the Confederates been a united body, they could not, with the means at their disposal, have made head against the invincible army which had conquered in England, and was destined to conquer in Scotland. Yet of the two Catholic factions, the most extreme had been, after all, the most practical. No promise of toleration from the English King would or could have been fulfilled. In any arrangement with him Catholicism should have been in a position to dictate its own terms, as Presbyterianism had done in Scotland, and to compel their observance. The dislike and dread of the Papacy was so great in England, that nothing but necessity would have reconciled Englishmen in that age to a real toleration of the Catholic religion. Ireland, since the great changes of the sixteenth century, could not hope to stand alone. Her only resource was to look for help to foreign powers, and endeavour under their protection to work out her destinies. But the jealousies of her natural protectors, France and Spain, made this alternative impossible. The Irish problem had taken its most acute form. Faithful to the old religion, Ireland seemed in English and Scottish eyes a strange anomaly, a monstrous growth of Papacy in the north, which

all true Protestants, however great their own differences might be, should combine to cut away.

The measures employed by the Puritans for the settlement of Ireland were as thorough and unscrupulous as their mode of warfare had been. The mass of the Irish people was held to be guilty of rebellion against the English Parliament. The great landowners, Protestant as well as Catholic, who had been loyalists almost to a man; all the minor landowners who had taken part in or in any way countenanced the earlier stages of the Catholic revolt; all the first members of the Catholic Convention forfeited life and estates. Officers and soldiers who had fought against the Parliament were allowed to enter the service of foreign powers. The former forfeited their lands, a fragment only being restored to their wives and children. These provisions practically swept away the remnant of the Celtic proprietors. There remained a very few of them, together with a considerable body of Anglo-Norman landowners, who had been more or less neutral. These also forfeited their estates, but were to recover two-thirds of them, or receive lands elsewhere in compensation. It was finally decided to transplant them, and coop them up between the Shannon and the sea in the barren province of Connaught. The confiscated lands were divided between adventurers (*i.e.*, men who had advanced

money to Parliament upon promise of Irish estates) and soldiers whose pay was in arrear. The new settlers were to keep no Irishmen as tenants, or even as domestic servants; but in practice such a rule, like all previous ones of the same nature, could not be observed. In general the Irish peasants, to whom a free pardon had been granted, settled down quietly under their new masters. The power of attraction in the Celtic race, even when in a subordinate position, once more asserted itself; and before long an Irish nurse sang the settler's child to sleep, and an Irish harper played in his hall.

In the meantime the transplantation had taken place. A long file of emigrants crossed the Shannon, landowners and merchants, chiefly of Anglo-Norman race, with their Celtic followers, all being now confounded by the Puritan settlers under the general appellation of "Irish Papist." The descendants of the old colonists were thus forced into that association with the Celtic race from which they had once been debarred by statute, and forced into it under conditions which must needs lower their own standard of civilization, without raising that of the natives. The gentry of the Pale left their castles and mansions among rich lawns and woodlands, to find shelter in smoky cabins among the rocks and moors of the West. The citizen of Cork and Kilkenny had to abandon trade and commerce, and

support himself on an ungrateful soil by agriculture, an industry of which he had no experience. Even Catholic artisans and workmen were banished to the rural districts, so that some of the towns were filled with rows of deserted houses. The dispossessed Celtic proprietors sometimes became bandits, under the name of Tories. The semi-toleration of Catholicism, which had lasted for a hundred years, was at an end. The Catholic clergy in a body were ordered into banishment. The fines for non-attendance at service in the parish churches were more than doubled. Even in Connaught no Catholic of the better class might reside in any garrison or market town, or travel further than a mile from his house without a passport. To carry arms or cross to the left bank of the Shannon was for him a capital offence. He might be summoned at any time to take the Oath of Supremacy, and practically abjure his religion; or else lose the greater part of his lands. His children might even be taken from him, at the will of the local magistrates, and sent to England, to be educated in the Protestant religion.

For eight years Catholic Ireland remained passive under the Puritan rule. At length the fall of Puritanism, followed by the Restoration, filled her with new hope. The new king, indeed, had already shown that he had inherited his father's faithless-

ness. At one time, to please his Scottish subjects, he had repudiated all terms with the Catholics. After his flight to the Continent he reopened relations with the latter; and exiles from Ireland formed a large part of his following abroad. The Catholic proprietors now naturally expected to be restored to their estates. But the King shrank from facing the danger of a Puritan rebellion in Ireland, and a hostile public opinion in England, which, though now royalist, was still strongly Protestant. Only a few of the old landowners were directly restored. A commission, composed of Englishmen, was sent over to Ireland, to examine the claims of such Catholics as had taken no part in the first outbreak of the rebellion. A fraction of these claims was heard and admitted, when the Protestant interest took alarm; a Puritan plot was discovered, and the hearing of the remaining cases was abandoned. The Parliament of Ireland, now almost exclusively Protestant, passed a measure which extinguished the last hopes of most of the claimants. Whatever the Restoration might mean in England, in Ireland it really meant the legalizing of the greater part of the Cromwellian confiscations. It was estimated that before the rebellion two-thirds of the profitable land of Ireland had been owned by Catholics. After the settlement under Charles II. these proportions, according to the same

authority, were reversed; according to others, those who professed the old faith retained no more than a sixth part of the fertile portion of their native soil.

If the policy of England strongly favoured the Protestant interest in Ireland, it took little account of Protestant or Catholic, colonist or native, whenever English agricultural or commercial interests seemed to be threatened with injury through Irish competition. As long as Ireland was in a state of continual disturbance, as in the sixteenth and previous centuries, or in a state of transition, as in the early part of the seventeenth, such competition could hardly be very formidable. But even in the reign of Elizabeth Acts had been passed to prevent the exportation of Irish agricultural produce into England. Strafford himself, who did so much to encourage Irish industry, discouraged the woollen manufacture in deference to English jealousies. But it was not till after the Puritan settlement, when the colonists had introduced a new industrial activity, that Irish rivalry began to cause real alarm in England. Early in the reign of Charles II. English landlords complained that their rents had been lowered by the importation of Irish cattle. This importation, together with that of other agricultural produce, was accordingly prohibited by statute. At the same time, the amended Naviga-

tion Act practically shut off Ireland from trade with the colonies. Three-fourths of her small commerce were thus driven to foreign ports. But the new settlers were not easily discouraged. Debarred from exporting their agricultural produce to its natural market, their mother-country, they determined to employ a portion of it in native industry. The excellence and abundance of Irish wool and the cheapness of Irish labour were favourable to the development of a woollen manufacture. Ireland had always made home-spun cloth, and Irish cloaks had been articles of export in the Middle Ages. Skilled weavers were now introduced from England and Scotland, and even from the Continent. A great part of the land was thrown into sheep-walks, in order to increase the production of wool, and the industry grew rapidly in importance.

Under Charles II. Irish Catholics enjoyed, on the whole, a partial toleration, which in the short reign of James II. passed into a religious ascendancy. Catholics became supreme in the corporations, the judiciary, and the army. When the civil war began, the Celt once more sprang to arms to recover his lands; and this time he was joined at once by his co-religionists of the Anglo-Norman race. The generation which had followed the Cromwellian settlement had done much to unite both races, involved as they were in a common ruin. Their

co-operation probably contributed to give a more humane character to the second great uprising of the seventeenth century. The English and Scottish settlers might be plundered, but they were not made victims of such outrages as had disgraced the earlier revolt. There were far less serious divisions among Catholic leaders than in the former war, and the Celtic soldiery readily obeyed commanders who were, for the most part, of Anglo-Norman descent. The Catholic clergy took a much less prominent part in this movement than in the previous one, owing partly to the presence of the King, partly to the coldness with which the cause of James, as the ally of Louis XIV., was regarded at Rome. The Pope on this occasion had no representative in Ireland to encourage Catholic resistance. On the other hand, the assistance of France in men and money was a new incident in the Irish struggle, and one which seemed at first to augur well for success. Never before had one of the Continental powers sent a considerable force into Ireland. For a century Ireland had generally looked to Spain for support, and had mostly looked in vain. But that once mighty power was fast falling into decline, and the Celto-Latin nation of France had taken its place in the Continental supremacy. Strong motives concurred to make France take an interest in Irish independence—

affinities of race and national character, a common religion, a common hostility to England. Now for the first time a real alliance seemed on the point of being formed between the two countries. French gold and arms came over with King James. French officers at the head of seven thousand trained soldiers landed in Ireland. The hopes of Irish Catholics ran high. Louis XIV. was spoken of as a deliverer, and the Stuart King was regarded in the light of his representative, rather than as an independent monarch. But in reality Louis was not disposed to make sacrifices in the cause of Ireland. His policy was a strictly Continental one, his great object being to extend his dominions on the side of the Netherlands and the Rhine. Ireland he thought, would, with some assistance, be useful to him as a diversion, a check on the activity abroad of his great enemy, William of Orange. French intervention in Ireland was accordingly half-hearted, and no serious effort was made to train the raw Irish levies by sending over a sufficient number of French officers. The French fleet, for a time actually mistress of the seas, allowed English troops to land freely in Ireland. On the other hand, the aid of France alienated from the Irish people the sympathies of the other Catholic powers who were hostile to Louis.

The presence of King James II. in Ireland made

it possible to maintain a constitutional government, and to summon a Parliament, which was composed almost entirely of Catholics. As usual the Anglo-Norman element predominated ; but on this occasion more than a fourth of the members of the Lower House bore Celtic names. As might be expected, Acts were passed which directly or indirectly deprived English and Scottish settlers of their lands. Religious freedom was, however, recognized in principle, while in practice a Catholic ascendancy was maintained. But the Catholic party was well aware it would soon have to fight for the final supremacy. It had levied an army of a hundred thousand men ; but they were for the most part ill-armed, ill-clad, and quite undisciplined. The soldier's pay, which was only threepence a day, was made in a coinage of nominal value, so that he was driven to live by plunder. It was observed that in consequence of the decay of the old gentry many of the infantry officers were of an inferior class. On the other hand, those of the cavalry regiments were of good standing, and this branch of the Irish army was brought into a state of efficiency. The whole country was now in Catholic hands, except a few strong places in the north, defended by such of the settlers as had remained in Ireland. Enniskillen and Derry defied the efforts of James, who all through the Irish war showed a strange lack of the martial

qualities of his early manhood. The opportunity of reducing the Protestant strongholds passed away; and the landing of Schomberg, and afterwards of William himself, with well-appointed forces, placed the Irish on the defensive. Their defeats at the Boyne and Aughrim, and the surrender of Limerick, whose defence had rivalled that of Derry, proclaimed their cause to be lost. James had fled after the battle of the Boyne, and the French troops had followed him to France. Nothing had remained for Irishmen but to make the best terms in their power with the victors. By the Treaty of Limerick a measure of toleration was promised to their religion. It was stipulated that Catholic landowners in the western counties should retain their estates. Irish officers and soldiers still in arms were permitted to enlist in foreign armies, and most of them entered the service of the King of France.

The hopes, as well as the fears, of the now dominant minority made it impossible that this treaty should be observed either in the letter or spirit. Irish Catholics were again excluded from Parliament and from all public offices. More than a million of acres were eventually confiscated, so that Catholic landowners lost a great portion of the fragment of cultivable land which had been secured to them after the Restoration. As a body, they sank into complete insignificance. But the

Catholic peasants clung with a passionate devotion to the remnant of their old aristocracy. Under a common proscription Catholics of all races were finally blended together. The Scandinavian, the Norman, and the old English elements, long since fused into one, and speaking the English tongue, combined, for the most part, with the Irish-speaking masses to form one body, weak, indeed, in point of organization, but strong in numbers, and possessing in the unity of their Church the germ of united action. Henceforward the bulk of the people began to be spoken of as Catholics rather than as Irish, while the latter term gradually spread, so as to include the Protestant minority. The colonists lost among themselves their national appellations of English and Scots, and were distinguished as members of the Established Church and Presbyterians. Thus differences of religion came to correspond roughly with those of class and race, and Ireland took the peculiar social form which she has preserved to the present day.

Viewed as a whole, the century which had passed since the conquest of Ireland may be said to have still further complicated the Irish problem. The supreme questions of religion and land had increased in intensity, and had become more intimately connected with each other. A new body of Protestants, of English and Scottish race, had

been introduced, and a new Church, the Presbyterian one, had arisen in the north. A century of confiscation and two unsuccessful uprisings, feebly seconded by foreign Catholic powers, had utterly crushed the old Celtic landowners, and reduced the Anglo-Norman ones to a mere remnant. The religion of the great majority, partially tolerated during the greater part of this century, and for two short periods in the ascendant, was in the end proscribed. The Catholics of Celtic and old colonial descent, who had fought and failed together, were now looked on by their masters, the new colonists, and had come to look upon themselves, as one body, though still speaking, for the most part, different languages. But no great leader had yet arisen who could unite or organize the Catholic population as a whole. Their exclusion from the Irish Parliament made that assembly once more a purely colonial one, more than ever dependent on the will of the governing classes in England.

In spite of two prolonged and devastating wars, the social condition of Ireland had, on the whole, made some real progress in the course of the seventeenth century. The new colonists had brought with them a higher standard of comfort and civilization. Those who came from England were chiefly concentrated in the towns, the government of which had passed into their hands. Dublin, indeed, was said

at the close of the seventeenth century to be inferior to no city in England, except London. The English settlers in the rural districts had introduced improved methods of agriculture, together with mining and other industries; while the linen manufacture advanced among the mainly Scottish colonists of Ulster. The state of the Celtic peasantry, however, who still formed the bulk of the population, remained a primitive one. They were still housed in cabins made of wattles and earth, and without chimneys; but they were warmly clad in the native wool. Here and there a man might be seen wearing an Irish mantle; but, on the whole, they had abandoned the Irish dress. Their language was still universally the Irish one, although in many places they understood English. The Brehon Law had utterly died out, and English institutions were everywhere in force. But certain tribal tendencies and sentiments, such as local jealousies and contempt of manual labour, still widely prevailed among them, to the prejudice of those ideas of national unity and industry, on the diffusion of which the progress and prosperity of the country so largely depended.

The circumstances of Ireland during this period were not favourable to intellectual culture. Nevertheless, the University of Dublin, now fairly started on its career, produced some scholars of European

reputation and some writers of literary eminence. But it was not till the beginning of the following century that the new colonists took a really high place in the literature of the mother-country. The discouragement of education among Catholics, which began in the sixteenth century, was continued under the Stewarts; and Catholic schools were closed, while obstacles were thrown in the way of sending the Catholic youth for education abroad. Intellectual life among the majority was represented partly by religious and political controversialists, who wrote in Latin or English, partly by writers who still cultivated the language of the people. Through this as well as through the previous century, poems were composed in the ancient style by members of bardic families, celebrating the heroes of the past, or bewailing the downfall of the Catholic leaders. Efforts were made to collect and preserve old records, and to hand down the pedigrees of great families. But after the Revolution these attempts to maintain an interest in the past almost died out. The descendants of the ancient bards with their peculiar traditions at length disappeared. Their place was taken by wandering minstrels, who, in the following century, were to portray in a new style, full of the freshness and simplicity of the peasant mind, the joys and the sorrows of the subject race.

CHAPTER V

THE COLONIAL SUPREMACY

OF the three sections into which the inhabitants of Ireland were divided at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Protestant Episcopalians, though not more numerous than the Presbyterians, and only a fraction of the total population, were by far the most important in point of wealth and power. They were, in fact, practically masters of the soil in Ireland, and local rulers of the masses; subject, however, to the will of the people of England, for whom they might be said to hold Ireland in trust. Such a position was unique at that day in Western Europe. It might, in some respects, be compared to the Norman supremacy over England after the Conquest. But that supremacy was not aggravated by religious differences; and, owing to its being an unfettered one, the conquerors could in time be more easily absorbed by the conquered. The ultimate aim of the English colony in Ireland was to impose its language, its civilization, and its religion on the

subject race. But it must not be supposed that this aim was actively or consistently pursued. The assimilation of the masses, at any rate, was left to the action of time, to personal influences, and, in a great measure, to chance. The Protestant colonists of Ireland, including, though not on equal terms, the Dissenters of the north, were to advance in wealth and prosperity; and the Irish Catholics were indirectly to profit by contact with a superior civilization, and to be eventually Anglicized. To carry out this policy, it was thought essential to deprive the Catholic body of its few remaining leaders. There was to be a purely Protestant gentry, a purely Protestant middle-class, and, in the course of time, it might be hoped, but one religion, represented by the State Church.

Making due allowance for the prejudices of the age, it must be affirmed that the English colonists, during their supremacy of about a century, proved themselves, in the face of extraordinary difficulties, worthy of the race from which they sprang. They had undertaken a tremendous task: to live, a small minority, among a strange people, without being absorbed; to maintain a rigid ascendancy over fellow-Christians all over the country, and a supremacy over fellow-Protestants in the north; to defend their interests, not only against the majority over which they ruled, but against their

mother-country, ever jealous of the competition of her own colonists. Yet this, on the whole, they succeeded more or less in doing for a hundred years, during which time Ireland remained peaceful, to a degree never known before, and her Protestant inhabitants advanced in all the arts of civilization. The methods by which the Catholic majority were held in check were, indeed, a great blot on their rule; but that blot cannot efface the recollection of what, under great discouragement, they unquestionably achieved. During this long period they were almost the sole channel through which what is called modern civilization, the discoveries of science, the productions of literature and art, the material improvements, the social and political progress, passed into a country where such things were comparatively little known. And, at the end of their rule, they could point to a record of work done, at least among the upper and middle classes, of which they had no reason to be ashamed.

When the Protestant refugees of English blood returned to their homes after the war of the Revolution, they found the country in a state of devastation and ruin. In the course of a century, they, in concert with new English colonists, had made of their capital the second city in the British Isles and the fifth in Europe. They had filled it with public buildings, of an architectural beauty

which, even at the present day, constitutes its chief attraction to strangers. They had provided its river with bridges and quays. They had furnished it with theatres and libraries, and they regularly maintained seven hundred students at its University. Under their government the chief provincial cities of Ireland had likewise increased in size and dignity. The country was opened up by roads and canals. Stately mansions arose, in the midst of spacious demesnes, planted with noble trees, and surrounded with walls, in the English fashion. Some of the most famous names in the English literature of that period belong to Irish Protestants. They carried Parliamentary and forensic oratory to a high pitch of perfection. Of the arts, they cultivated music with a zeal suggestive of Celtic influences around them. Painting and the decorative arts were also successfully practised. Scientific and industrial societies were founded. In fact, the ruling class in Ireland during the eighteenth century, in spite of serious drawbacks, fairly reflected the culture and the refinement which then prevailed in England.

The same progress, indeed, was not made in industry or commerce. But there the obstacles were far greater, and for a long time insurmountable. In agriculture, at any rate, the co-operation of the Catholic peasantry was a necessity; but they

were sunk in listless poverty, and retained the old tribal aversion to labour. Irish agricultural produce was, moreover, in a great measure excluded from the markets of England and the colonies. After the Revolution, English merchants emulated the jealousy of English landowners. The success of the Irish woollen trade, which had made rapid strides in the latter part of the seventeenth century, led to an Act of the English Parliament which forbade the exportation of Irish manufactured wool to any country except England, whence it was practically shut out by prohibitive duties. At the same time, under an earlier Act, raw Irish wool could only be exported to England. Such legislation might well fill the most enterprising of colonists with despair. Some minor manufactures, however, remained. One of these, that of linen, had been ruined by the war of the Revolution, and its revival was tolerated, and even encouraged, by the English Government, but only in so far as it did not compete seriously with the similar manufacture in England. French immigrants established the weaving of poplin in Dublin, and a few small industries were started in the southern towns. The manufacture of iron, with the aid of charcoal, which had been introduced in the seventeenth century into various parts of the country, was far from being an unmixed benefit, adding as it largely did to the

destruction of the valuable woods, which had once been so great a feature in the Irish landscape. A large export trade in beef was opened with the Continent ; and, in spite of all restrictions, quantities of raw wool were smuggled over seas to France.

During the eighteenth century a change took place in the character of the new English colonist. Protestant as he was, and in many instances of Puritan stock, he fell by degrees under native influences, like the Catholic settler of the Middle Ages. The change was, doubtless, to be in part ascribed to the commercial restrictions, which tended to alienate him from the mother-country. But it was mainly attributable to the assimilating power of a majority, especially of a Celtic one. The Protestant colonist, ruling over the natives, could not fail to imbibe some of their social qualities, their vivacity and hospitality, as well as their love of ease and adventure. There was of course for him no question of adopting a strange social and political system, like the tribal one, as there had been for the mediæval colonist. But the prevalent tribal spirit of careless gaiety appealed strongly to men whose serious enterprise had been rudely checked. On the whole, they developed a new type of character, intermediate between the English and the Irish ones. Religious differences made it impossible that they should blend with the natives,

as the old Catholic colonists had done, but they ceased to regard themselves simply as English settlers, and at length took the name of Irishmen. In spite of the political and social gulf which divided them, a better understanding grew up gradually between Irish Protestants and Catholics, and even enabled them to act in concert against English policy, when their common interests were at stake.

The development of the colonial character took a different course in Ulster. There the colonists were far more numerous, and therefore slower to modify their national characteristics. Moreover, the Scottish element predominated among them, and the Scottish character did not yield so readily to the attractions of the Irish social spirit. Scottish influence, originally great, had been increased by a spontaneous immigration ever since the Plantation. The Scottish or Presbyterian body in Ulster suffered however, from serious disadvantages. It had few representatives among the landowners, who then almost monopolized political power and social consideration. Its members, chiefly employed in agriculture and trade, and, unlike their kinsmen in Scotland, without educational advantages, took little part in the literary and artistic life of the country. As farmers, they had to face a severe competition from the Catholic peasantry, whose fewer wants

enabled them to offer higher rents; while as artisans, they felt keenly the effect of the English legislation, which had crushed Irish manufactures. In addition to these drawbacks, they suffered from religious disabilities. In spite of the brilliant part which they had played in the defence of Ulster against James II., they did not for a whole generation obtain, as their English brethren had done, the benefit of a Toleration Act. Their worship, indeed, was not generally interfered with, and their Church, except for a brief period, was actually in receipt of a small endowment. But they were harassed in various ways; the marriages celebrated by their clergy were regarded as invalid, and the imposition of a test excluded them from all public offices. These disabilities were gradually removed; but nothing short of complete equality could satisfy a high-spirited body, who were as numerous as their fellow-Protestants of the Established Church. The religious grievance intensified the industrial one, which drove numbers of Presbyterians to the American colonies, and reduced those who remained to a state of chronic discontent.

Far worse was the position of the Catholic body. If the Presbyterian chafed under inequality, the Catholic, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, could hope for nothing more than to be allowed to live in peace, as a member of a subject race.

Misfortune had robbed him of all energy and ambition. Catholic landowners had shrunk into an insignificant minority, and such estates as they retained were generally of little value. Catholic merchants had been once more excluded from the corporations, and could only carry on their trades in the towns by paying a special imposition. But, feeble as these old leaders of the people had grown, the ruling class was resolved that they should become still feebler. It was against them that the penal code which now came into force was chiefly directed. They were, as Catholics, shut out from every office, from Parliament, from the franchise, from the legal professions. They could not keep arms without special licence, or own a horse of greater value than five pounds. They were forbidden to instruct their children under Catholic teachers at home, or to send them to school abroad, or to give them a university education. A Catholic could not act as guardian to a child, even if it were his own. Some of these disabilities had existed before ; but they had seldom been strictly enforced. But a completely new set of measures was devised, to exclude Catholics from the influence conferred by landed property. They were not allowed to buy land, or to hold mortgages on it, or to take it on lease (except for a short term, with limited profits), or to bequeath it by will.

In order to break up Catholic landed estates, the rule of gavelkind was applied to them, so that they passed to all the sons in equal shares, or, in default of sons, to daughters. Thus an extinct Irish custom, which a century before had been declared barbarous and illegal, was practically revived and enforced by statute. But if the eldest son became a Protestant, he took the position of heir-at-law, and could claim maintenance in the life-time of his father, who at once became a life-tenant. Such legislation could hardly fail of the desired effect. The remnant of the Catholic gentry became still further reduced. Some conformed to the State Church, or their children, if left minors, were brought up in that religion by Protestant guardians. Others sank into the farming class. A few succeeded in handing down their estates undivided, by allowing them to pass into the hands of Protestant friends, who held them for them and their heirs upon secret trusts. The younger members of old Catholic families often sought their fortunes abroad. Men who at home were despised, as belonging to an inferior caste, raised themselves to the highest offices in foreign countries. Irish exiles fought with distinction in most of the great battles of the eighteenth century. Irish generals led the armies of France and Spain, of Germany and Russia. They were distinguished at foreign

courts as physicians, as chamberlains, and as ambassadors. A statesman of Irish blood guided for years the policy of Spain. An officer of Irish birth in the service of France checked the growth of English dominion in India. But the reputation of Irish Catholics abroad, while it consoled the pride of their co-religionists at home, served to bring out in greater relief the abasement of the subject people.

The mass of the Catholics of Ireland, deprived of their natural leaders, fell into a state of torpor. Most of the articles of the penal code, except those which restrained them in the practice of their religion, hardly affected them directly; but its whole tenor made it practically impossible for them to improve their lot, while it ruined the Catholic upper and middle classes, who alone could have really sympathized with them, or in any degree represented their interests. The bulk of Irishmen, therefore, lived under the stigma of inferiority, a life which necessarily kept alive the spirit of tribal indolence. The whole Catholic body was without the rights of the citizenship. In fact, it had been told, on the highest judicial authority, that the law did not recognize its existence. It was composed for the most part of peasants speaking the Irish language. No serious effort was made by their rulers to raise their miserably low standard of

living, which, indeed, was, as we have seen, their chief advantage in competition with Protestant farmers. Their food had come to consist chiefly of the potato, a root which from its cheapness and abundance caused them to multiply in poverty, while it did not afford the nourishment needful for sustained physical exertion or mental vigour in a northern climate. Their methods of agriculture were of the rudest description, only slightly improved since the tribal time, except in a few centres of colonial influence. Their condition was aggravated by the change from tillage to pasture, which took place on a large scale in the first half of the eighteenth century, and by periodical famines. The fact that many of the large landowners lived habitually out of Ireland and leased their land to middlemen, who often sub-let to others of the same class, was a great source of oppression to the peasant occupier.

Those Protestant landowners, indeed, who resided among the people, were often looked up to with respect, and even with affection, sometimes deepened through the adoption by the colonist of the old Irish custom of fosterage. Yet there generally remained a want of confidence and thorough sympathy between the peasantry and their new masters. The people, in fact, had never been reconciled to the confiscations of the seventeenth century. Between

them and the old landowners there had everywhere been the bond of a common religion, in purely Celtic districts that of a common race, and on the estates of landlords of Anglo-Norman descent what had come to be regarded as a sort of common nationality. The rents and services might be onerous enough, but they were at least based on custom, always sacred in the eyes of an Irish peasant. The ordinary relations between landlord and tenant had never been viewed as a mere contract under either tribal or feudal tenure. The tenant almost invariably fulfilled the conditions of his tenure as far as he could, and looked to his landlord for sympathy and protection against the outside world. In many places the tenants were jointly responsible for the rent of a whole townland, which they shared among themselves in tribal or manorial fashion. There were no evictions, no setting up of land to a fierce competition among a peasantry, swollen in numbers, and driven from fertile tracts, which had been thrown into pasture. The old system was superseded by one which was theoretically based on contract, but which often proved in practice a sort of one-sided feudalism, under which the owner, even when personally benevolent, was freed from all sense of reciprocal obligation towards the occupier. Between the two, indeed, often intervened an intermediate class, whose object it was

to extract the highest possible rent from the land. Under such circumstances, the Irish peasant accepted his position, as it were, under protest, and lived in the vague hope of better days.

The effects on the character of the people of their sad condition were strongly marked. Balked of prosperity on earth, they turned to Heaven with a passionate devotion. The religious enthusiasm of early Christian times revived and penetrated the daily life of the masses. Domestic morals, once so lax, were purified to a high degree in the furnace of suffering. Among the poorest was fostered a spirit of neighbourliness, of mutual help in misfortune, partly, perhaps, of tribal origin, which, in spite of local and family feuds, has remained a national characteristic to the present day. But if the sufferings of the masses had in some respects a chastening influence on their character, it could not fail to affect it injuriously in other ways. There was, as has been seen, no encouragement to industry among them, but rather the reverse. Yet a people in their position, having emerged from the tribal or semi-tribal state, and retaining the tribal prejudices, stood in need of the strongest incentives to industry and thrift. Under the actual circumstances, it was inevitable that they should cling to their old ways, and remain idle, slovenly, and apathetic. Still more serious were the effects of certain laws. The pro-

hibition to export wool turned the whole population of the southern and western coasts into smugglers. The severities of the penal code, in the evasion of which the peasants often took part, especially the search for Catholic bishops and unregistered clergy, made deceit appear to them in many instances almost a virtue, while in others it was well-nigh a necessity of their social condition. The habit of concealing through fear their real sentiments in the presence of their masters tended to pervert the natural Celtic courtesy into a trained servility. The primitive tendency to secret vengeance, which still survived, was strengthened by oppression, and the hopelessness of any legal remedy against masters who monopolized the administration of the law. The state of ignorance in which they were deliberately kept helped to preserve among them many strange superstitions, often graced by the flowers of Celtic fancy. Living, as they did, outside of the main benefits of English law, which, as a foreign institution, had always been distasteful to them, they acquired the spirit of hereditary outlaws. Thus illegality became a notion, not merely justified, but consecrated in their minds.

The Established Church, representing as it did a foreign religion and a hostile law in the eyes of the masses, could hardly have been likely in any event to make much progress among them. But,

apart from this aspect, its character and constitution during the eighteenth century were not calculated to recommend it to the people, even had they been disposed towards religious change. The bishoprics were chiefly reserved for Englishmen, some of whom seldom or never visited their sees. Many churches were in ruins, and the clergy absentees. In many parishes the revenues were enjoyed by laymen. Protestant landowners refused to pay tithes for their pasture-lands, which constituted the richest portion of the soil. The inferior clergy were mostly in a state of great poverty, depending chiefly for support on tithes paid by the Catholic peasantry. Yet friendly relations between Protestant clergymen and Catholic cottiers often existed, and the glebe had already begun to exercise a civilizing influence in its neighbourhood. Far weaker, in a material sense, though, in a moral one, incomparably more strong, was the Church of the people. No attempt had been made, like that of Cromwell, to abolish it at one stroke. In truth, its rival, the State Church, had neither the energy nor the means to take its place. But it was hoped that it would gradually die out with the existing members of the Catholic clergy; and a law was accordingly passed to compel parish-priests to register their names. All unregistered priests, and all bishops and friars were ordered to leave Ireland. A reward was offered for their

apprehension, and a race of informers, called priest-hunters, sprang up. But in face of popular opposition such measures once more failed. After a time the persecution diminished, until, by the middle of the century, even Catholic bishops could live quietly in some places under assumed names.

Ever since the Reformation, religious persecution had been common in Europe; but it had almost everywhere been the persecution of a minority by a majority. In Ireland, however, this rule was reversed, and a governing minority had proscribed the religion of the bulk of the people. But, in the last resort, this minority knew that it could count upon the assistance of its mother-country. It was, in fact, the sense of the overwhelming power of England, which rendered possible the existence of penal laws, which were passed with her approval, and corresponded to her own penal code against English Catholics. Thus the responsibility for the degradation of the Irish masses fell in the end upon England. She had set up a privileged class, composed of her own colonists, which, like every such class in every age and country, strove to maintain its privileges, and for a long time succeeded in maintaining them with her assistance. But this harmony between them only extended to their relations with Irish Catholics. It quickly disappeared when questions arose as to their relations

with each other. The colonists thought that, besides their privileged position in the land of their adoption, they were entitled to enjoy all the general rights of Englishmen. The mother-country, on the other hand, looked on all her colonies as appendages to herself, and subservient to her own interests. She kept their administration, as far as possible, in her own hands. Any growth in them of trade or commerce, which appeared likely to interfere with her own, was at once suppressed. In these respects, she made practically no distinction between Ireland and her colonies abroad. Nor was this colonial policy peculiar to herself. It was then recognised and pursued as a systematic policy by all colonizing nations.

The real peculiarity in the case of the colonists in Ireland was that, by their neighbourhood to the mother-country, they remained more strictly under her control than her colonists elsewhere; while, through their settlement in the midst of another European race, which immensely outnumbered them, they stood in greater need of her protection. Thus the Irish Executive was under purely English influence. The Irish Parliament could pass no law which had not been previously approved of by the English Privy Council. It commonly lasted for a whole reign, and met once in two years. By far the greater part of the revenue of Ireland had been

settled on the Crown, and was beyond Parliamentary control. Of the three hundred members of the Irish House of Commons, not more than a third could be regarded as representatives. Two-thirds were returned for boroughs in the gift of great landowners, most of whom lived in England. Such constituencies could, in ordinary times, be purchased by the Government; and a third of the members of the Lower House actually held public offices or pensions. Almost all the high places in the Government, on the bench and in the Church, were occupied by Englishmen, and English pensioners were regularly quartered on the Irish Civil List. Colonists of English blood could hardly be expected to permanently acquiesce in so subordinate a position. At one time some of them seemed inclined to find a remedy in a union with England, after the Scottish precedent, and the Irish House of Commons actually addressed the Crown in that sense. Others favoured the restoration of the ancient independence of the Irish Parliament. But the first movement was discouraged, apparently through English commercial jealousy; and the second, being contrary to the whole tenor of English policy, could have no hope of success at the time. It became clear that the mother-country was resolved to exact a high price for the position of ascendancy in which she maintained her colonists. At first the latter, except for

an occasional outburst of indignation, accepted with calmness the supremacy of their kinsmen in England. But, when a new generation of colonists had arisen, and developed an independent feeling of its own, discontent took shape in the form of a regular opposition to English government. A party was formed, which aimed at nothing short of the freedom of the Irish Parliament. They pursued the same tactics as had been once employed with success by Englishmen at home. They attacked the abuse of pensions, procured the rejection of money bills, which did not originate in the Irish House of Commons, and demanded a Habeas Corpus Act, and short Parliaments. The new movement spread among all members of the dominant religion ; and the Protestant mob of Dublin, upon a rumour of a proposed legislative union with England, broke into the Parliament House, and strove to overawe by violence the supposed advocates of such a measure.

The Catholic population took no interest in this movement of the dominant class, from which they could hope for no benefit for themselves. But the better class among them now took courage to come forward and declare their loyalty, and even to form an organization for the removal of their disabilities. At the same time, the peasantry began to secretly combine on a large scale, in order to compel redress of their grievances. This movement is remarkable

as being the first symptom of a wide-spread peasant revolt in Ireland. Having lost their natural leaders, the Catholic gentry, the people chose leaders from among themselves, and obeyed them in the old tribal spirit. Many of them had been lately infuriated in the south by the enclosure of commons, which seems to have been the last drop which made their cup of misery overflow. In another place the tithe, paid to the clergy of a strange Church through the medium of a tithe-farmer, was their principal grievance. They banded themselves together in a powerful organization, whose decrees were enforced by a regular system of intimidation and outrage. In many parts of three provinces the law of the land was practically superseded by that of the Whiteboys. Their leaders fixed the rents of peasants' holdings, the amount of the tithes they were to pay to the parson, even the voluntary sums which went to the support of their priests. Pasture-land was broken up with the plough, to compel the restoration of tillage. Enclosures were levelled, gaols were broken into; villages were attacked. Those who refused to obey the decree of a leader were punished with torture, and sometimes with death. At length the movement was repressed by stern legislation. But it occasionally broke out afresh, and its spirit, dormant or active, has endured to modern times.

The third section of the Irish population, the Presbyterians of the north, also gave open and violent proofs of discontent. The commercial class among them had, as has been said, been ruined by trade restrictions. The farmers, who had, like the Catholics, to support two Churches, now rose, as the Catholics of the south had done, against the payment of tithes to the clergy of the Established Church. Like the Catholic farmers, they also murmured against excessive rents, against evictions, against the throwing of tracts of arable land into pasture. They had, moreover, a special grievance in connection with the making and repairing of roads, the expense of which, they complained, fell upon them, while their landlords derived the chief benefit. They accordingly combined, like the Catholics, in illegal associations; and went about in some districts intimidating clergymen and laymen, maiming cattle, and attacking houses. The conspiracy of the Oak-boys and Steel-boys of Ulster was certainly less formidable than that of the White-boys in the other provinces, and attended with fewer and less brutal outrages; but it excited genuine alarm among the dominant class. As a concession, the Road Act was repealed, and the outbreak was finally suppressed by force. Many of those who had taken part in it emigrated to the American colonies, where they afterwards proved the most implacable enemies of England.

The failure of the English policy in Ireland was at length manifest to English statesmen. It had alienated all classes and creeds in the country. They now consented to modify it, to a slight extent, by conceding some of the demands of the dominant section, on whose aid they relied for holding the bulk of the people in subjection. Contrary to recent precedent, a viceroy, Lord Townshend, was sent over to reside in the country which he was to govern. The duration of the Irish Parliament was reduced to eight years. But the other demands were refused; and the Viceroy having quarrelled with the powerful Irish families, who held the balance of power in Parliament, resolved to govern without their assistance. He suddenly prorogued Parliament; but, although he afterwards contrived by bribery, on a large scale, to obtain a Parliamentary majority, his unpopularity became so great, that he had to be recalled. The revolt of the American colonies made the state of Irish affairs still more critical. The Presbyterians who had many kinsmen beyond the Atlantic, openly sympathised with the colonists. The Protestant Episcopalians, on the other hand, in spite of their own disputes with the mother-country, were thoroughly loyal to her; and their example was followed by the small body of Catholics of the better class. The latter were some years afterwards rewarded by the removal

of their chief disabilities, connected with the possession and inheritance of land. The Catholic peasantry, who had then no link with America, remained apathetic during the great struggle; supplying, however, recruits to the British army, which now enlisted them for the first time since the Protestant ascendancy had begun. When France joined the revolted colonies, England found herself compelled to confide the defence of Ireland to Irish Protestants; and Episcopalians and Presbyterians united in forming a large body of volunteers, which a few Catholics of the better class were permitted to join.

An Irish citizen army was thus constituted, which, when peace removed the danger from abroad, did not disband, but took advantage of the opportunity to enforce the demands of Irish Protestants. England, exhausted by the late war, and warned by the loss of her colonies in America, was no longer prepared to refuse these demands. By her proved incapacity to defend Ireland against foreign invasion, she had, in a measure, abdicated the government in favour of the Protestant inhabitants, who were now united against her Irish policy. The Irish demand for equal trading rights with England was virtually conceded, by the removal of nearly all the commercial restrictions from which Ireland had suffered since the Restoration. The Presbyterians, who

formed a majority among the rank and file of the volunteers, obtained the abolition of the test, which, to some extent, had still excluded them from public office. Finally, the whole Protestant body claimed what had been once demanded by Swift and Molyneux—the legislative independence of their Parliament. A declaration in this sense was passed by the Irish Parliament, in the form of an address to the Crown; and English ministers yielded with a good grace what they could no longer refuse. The Declaratory Act of George I., which defined the dependence of the Parliament of Ireland, was repealed. Acts were then passed by the emancipated Parliament in Dublin which established complete legislative and judicial independence in Ireland.

The great constitutional change was, in a large measure, the work of one man. Henry Grattan, a member of the dominant class in Ireland, but endowed with qualities as well as talents which raised him far above the ordinary level of that class, had conceived the idea of Irish self-government, based on the citizenship of all Irishmen without distinction of creed. His idea was a noble one; and events had moved so rapidly during recent years, and different classes of Irishmen had worked so harmoniously together for a common object, that, for a moment, it might almost seem as if the dream could be realized. But the truth was, that the circumstances of the

country were so abnormal, and the new political constitution was so defective, that it could not be made to work satisfactorily. For its success three conditions should have been satisfied: The fusion of the different sections of Irishmen into one people; a real representation of the people in the Irish Parliament; and the responsibility to that Parliament of the Irish Ministers. To realize the first condition, it was necessary that the members of all religions should become tolerant, that the dominant one should sacrifice its ascendancy, and that the Catholic population should definitely accept the confiscations of the previous century and the existing distribution of landed property. If all this were done, the reform of the Irish Parliament might follow. But even then that reform could not take place without the consent of England, whose control of Irish legislation rested upon the existing system of purchasable borough seats. Her consent was equally indispensable for such a change as should make the Irish Executive responsible to the Irish Parliament, and establish an Irish Cabinet independent of the English one. That England would ever agree, except under extreme compulsion, to abandon the only means she possessed of controlling the government of Ireland was more than improbable. Such compulsion could only be exerted, as it had once been exerted before, by a practical una-

nimity among Irishmen. On the fulfilment of the first condition, therefore, depended that of the others.

But it was one thing to unite in a moment of enthusiasm with a political object, like that of the volunteers, and quite another thing to extend that unity to the problems and heart-burnings of Irish social life. With the exception of Grattan and a few other enlightened Irish Protestants, no one as yet contemplated admitting the Catholic majority to full civic rights. The Catholic masses, on their part, held firmly to the traditional aim of recovering some day or other the land of Ireland from the actual owners. The Presbyterians of Ulster, though most of their grievances had been removed, retained a bitter recollection of former injustice at the hands of their fellow-Protestants, and a Puritanical horror of the Catholic religion. But as long as toleration and equal justice to all classes were principles not generally recognised in Ireland, national union was clearly impossible. Under all the circumstances the wonder is, not that the Irish Parliament under its new constitution failed, but that it achieved as much as it did, especially in the removal of Catholic disabilities. In little more than a decade it passed measures which repealed all the most oppressive of the penal enactments, and gave the franchise to Catholics on the same terms as Protestants. It asserted the personal liberties of Irishmen by passing

a Habeas Corpus Act. Though it could not succeed in radically reforming the composition of the House of Commons, it reformed the Pension List, and excluded for the future the bulk of pensioners and some placemen from Parliament. The Crown was induced to abandon the hereditary revenue for a fixed Civil List. Irish industries were fostered by a system of bounties. Thus the linen and woollen manufacturers, and those of cotton, silk, and glass, received a real impetus. Parliamentary grants encouraged Irish fisheries, made canals, and constructed harbours. A Corn Law, modelled on the English one, turned tracts of pasture into tillage-land. At the same time, the growth of a manufacturing population in England opened a market to Irish corn, and shortly afterwards the outbreak of war with France greatly enhanced its price. Mills arose all over the island; wheat-land largely increased in value; wages rose, and work was found for many idle hands in the peasant community. As might be expected, Irish finances improved with the growth of prosperity. The annual deficit disappeared; the public debt declined; and Irish credit rapidly rose.

The partial success of the new constitution only served to strengthen the demand for reform. The Protestant Dissenters had no longer any great sectarian grievance, except the payment of tithes to the Established Church; but they felt deeply on

this question, as well as in the matter of Parliamentary reform. Naturally democratic in their sympathies, and largely controlling the volunteer body in the north, they attempted to utilize it for bringing about the reform of the Irish Parliament, as it had been utilized to establish that Parliament's independence. Their failure exasperated a proud race, always unwilling to hold a subordinate position; and the French Revolution, following the American one, blew the smouldering discontent into a flame. The new French ideas were received with enthusiasm in Ulster; and, in accordance with them, the society of United Irishmen was founded in Belfast, with the aim of combining the various forces of Irish discontent. Its cardinal principles were religious equality and parliamentary reform; but it afterwards became a centre and rallying-point for revolutionary schemes. The organization spread rapidly in the north, and was introduced into Dublin, where it was joined by some of the Catholic middle class.

The attitude of the Catholic body was now very different from what it had been not very many years before. The Declaration of Independence had made their good-will and support an object of ambition to all parties in Ireland—to the dominant class who wished to preserve the new constitution; to the Presbyterians who wished to enlarge it; to the

Irish Government, representing that of England, who wished, as a rule, to restrict, if not to revoke it. Courted by all in turn, the Catholic leaders could adopt a tone of confidence, and even of boldness, in urging their claims, which would have been thought impossible by those of the previous generation. The class which formerly acted as Catholic representatives, the peers and country gentry, gave way to the more stirring middle class of the towns. Such men did not hesitate to publicly agitate their grievances, and even to assemble in a convention to demand their redress. Some of them were known to sympathize, like the Presbyterians, with recent events in France, which the Catholic aristocracy and the bulk of the Catholic clergy looked upon with aversion. Apart from all stood the great mass of the Catholic peasantry, knowing little of the outside world, yet not wholly beyond the scope of the new impulse of the times.

The concessions which had been made to the Catholic body, at the instance of Catholics of the upper and middle classes, had excited the hopes of the peasantry, without substantially improving their lot. They might now, it is true, if their landlords so willed it, hold by a freehold tenure and thus exercise the franchise at the next elections; but, circumstanced as they were, they could hardly hope for a free suffrage. The rise which had lately

taken place in the prices of agricultural produce would have been of great benefit to them, if it had not been accompanied by a general rise in rents ; and the increase of employment and the subdivision of grass-farms, consequent on the spread of tillage, were largely neutralized by the rapid growth of the population, which appears to have nearly doubled in half a century. But, in so far as their condition was really improved, they were encouraged to seek for a further improvement. Their agrarian movement had already been revived, and, under the name of Defenders, they terrorized large districts in three provinces, and struggled against the Protestant peasantry in Ulster. Still clinging to the traditional hope of recovering the soil of Ireland from its Protestant owners, they seem, about this time, to have given that ideal a distinctly democratic shape, and to have tacitly abandoned the particular claims of the descendants of the old proprietors. Most of the heirs of such families had, indeed, disappeared, and could only be found, if anywhere, in foreign countries, or, in some instances, among the ranks of the people. The existence among the latter of a few claiming to be direct heirs and a far larger number claiming to be descendants of the old owners helped, perhaps, to justify them in their own minds in substituting the grievances of race or religion for those of class,

and in looking for, as restitution to themselves, the recovery of the confiscated lands. In such a state of mind they could not but be influenced by reports of what had occurred in France, a country with which Ireland had been closely connected for a century, and for whose armies so many Irishmen had been till lately recruited. Their own chief grievances were agrarian exactions and tithes, and they were told that in France all such things had, through a great popular uprising, been abolished at a blow.

It was while the people were in this temper that the removal of the remaining Catholic disabilities was mooted. Directly, they only affected the better class of that denomination. But the moral effect on the masses of the entire emancipation of their creed would naturally be great. Whether it would have a more soothing than stimulating effect upon their conduct was a question about which there might fairly be a difference of opinion. But of one thing there could be no doubt, that, if the question of emancipation came to the front and hopes were held out of its settlement, the results of a subsequent refusal to deal with it must be disastrous. Yet this is precisely what now happened. Through the Whig Secession in England, some of the advocates of the Catholic claims came into power there; and one of

the warmest of them was sent over to govern Ireland in the person of Lord Fitzwilliam. The Catholics at once demanded complete emancipation. Among the party of Ascendency a few prominent individuals alone opposed the concession. The Protestant ruling class seem to have been for the most part quite resigned to it, and prepared to follow the leadership of Grattan. They appear to have thought that after the large concessions which had already been made to Catholics, their own interests could not be much endangered by a measure which would chiefly benefit the small Catholic better class. Some of them, no doubt, already perceived that the choice really lay between granting Catholic emancipation and the loss of the legislative independence which they still prized so highly. In spite of chronic religious bickerings in the north, no opposition came from that quarter. The expectations of the Catholics had almost attained certainty, when they were dashed to the ground by the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam.

It is evident that the policy pursued by Pitt and his colleagues in England at this crisis was dictated by more than one motive, though it may be doubtful which predominated. Apart from private pique and regard for the feelings of the King, who was vehemently opposed to emancipation, they may have sincerely believed that the danger

to England of granting it at that moment was greater than that of refusing it; while they were willing enough to use the Catholic question as an instrument to bring about a Union between Great Britain and Ireland. The latter motive alone was the one commonly ascribed to them in Ireland. The Catholics held a meeting, at which they passed a resolution declaring that they would not accept their own emancipation at the price of the Irish Parliament. But English ministers, remembering the Volunteer movement, and fearing the consequence of unity among Irishmen, were now resolved to revert to the old policy of dividing them by maintaining religious distinctions. Under such conditions the state of the country changed rapidly for the worse. The Society of United Irishmen had been suppressed, but it was soon reconstituted. Its aims were now distinctly disloyal and republican, and its organization was secret. It opened communications with France, and began to drill its members by night in anticipation of a French invasion. Though its leaders were mostly Protestants, it established relations with the Catholic peasantry, and in the end succeeded in grafting its organization on their agrarian one. To counteract the revolutionary movement, the Orange Society was founded in Ulster; but the excesses of the lower orders who formed the great majority of its members,

and their persecution of the Catholic peasantry, served to increase the popular discontent.

The union of a political with a social organization among the masses pointed to an outbreak as terrible as it was, in the strict sense, novel in Ireland—a peasant war. But as yet they were insufficiently organized, and their leaders looked for aid to the French Republic. Although France and England had been frequently at war for a century, and on one occasion the combined fleets of France and Spain were actually supreme in the British Channel; though French vessels regularly sought recruits on the Irish coasts; though Continental armies were full of Irish exiles, some of whom took part in the expedition of Charles Edward to Scotland, foreign interference in Ireland had hitherto been almost as rare in the eighteenth century as in the Middle Ages. The mass of the Irish people had been politically dormant under the penal laws; and so great was the apparent calm, that it seemed to observers at home and abroad as if it would never be broken. But now, in the midst of the greatest war that England and France had ever waged with each other, French statesmen, hearing of the growth of Irish disaffection, were glad to open negotiations with the United Irish leaders. There seems to have been no fixed plan of establishing Irish independence; but it was thought that the whole country would

rise, once a foreign force had landed, and, at the very least, a diversion most dangerous for England would be created. A large French fleet, carrying fifteen thousand trained soldiers, sailed for the south of Ireland. It escaped the notice of the enemy, but through mismanagement and stormy weather failed to land the troops.

At last, before another foreign expedition could arrive, the long threatening explosion took place. The Catholic peasantry in some districts, fired with new hopes and old wrongs, and provoked by military outrage, rose, without fixed aim or common counsels. The Presbyterians of the north, whose French sympathies had greatly diminished since the rupture between France and America, and who were, therefore, much less eager for a revolution with French aid, were soon alienated by the religious aspect assumed by the rising in the south. The cruelties of the rebels were emulated by English and Irish soldiers, by Catholic militiamen as well as Protestant yeomen. The atrocities on both sides were such as have always occurred in similar revolts; nor do they appear to have been as terrible as those which had once attended the rising of the *Jacquerie* in France, or the German Peasant War. The military severities were no greater than those which disgraced the suppression of the almost contemporary rising of *La Vendée*. But the deep division

between races, classes, and creeds, which existed in Ireland, gave the struggle there a peculiar virulence ; and the maintenance down to the present time of the Orange Society, which took a leading part in it, has helped to keep alive memories and feelings, which in a happier country would have died away. The suppression of the main rebellion, which was never general over the country, was followed by a few trivial French expeditions to different points of the coast, one of which, that which landed in Connaught, is memorable for the gallantry displayed by the handful of invaders. But England was now undisputed mistress of the seas, and once more controlled without hindrance the destinies of Ireland.

Within sixteen years a great change had taken place in the relative positions of the two countries. The Volunteers, who had wrung legislative independence from the English Government, had disappeared. The new Irish constitution had failed to work satisfactorily without that Parliamentary reform to which England would not consent. The policy of piecemeal concessions to Catholics had broken down. The Irish finances, owing to rebellion and foreign war, had fallen into disorder. Instead of Ireland being held against danger from at home and abroad by a citizen army, she was now filled with English soldiers. In point of dependence on England, she seemed to have gone back to the days

of William III. It must have been evident to thoughtful men that, in these circumstances, England would insist on a great constitutional change, which would once for all relieve her of the fear of an independent Ireland, as she had been freed nearly a century before from the danger of an independent Scotland. The idea of a legislative Union, which had been in the minds of English statesmen ever since Grattan's Declaration of Independence, now took practical shape. In Ireland it may be said to have been received, on the whole, with sullen resignation. The citizens of Dublin, whose material interests were closely bound up with the Irish Parliament, and the Orange Society, which distrusted the Catholic policy of the Government, were alone strongly opposed to it. The Protestant aristocracy and gentry, of whom the Parliament was practically composed, knew in their hearts that the change was inevitable. The Presbyterian body, having lost their republican enthusiasm, and despairing of Parliamentary reform, remained passive, as also did the bulk of the Catholics. Prominent members of the Catholic higher clergy and gentry were won over by advances on the part of the Irish Government, who held out to them the hope of emancipation, as a sequel to a Union, together with a settlement of the tithe-question and a provision for the support of Catholic priests.

In this condition of public opinion in Ireland, Pitt introduced his great project into both Parliaments. In the English one, where an effective opposition no longer existed, it met with few objections. The Irish House of Lords was almost equally docile. But the Irish Commons would not yield without a struggle what they had so dearly won. To overcome their resistance, the Government had recourse to that system of bribery which was then a recognized political weapon in every country, and which had once been successfully employed in Scotland to bring about a Union with England. Two-thirds of the seats in the lower House were in the hands of patrons, from whom they were always purchasable as private property. High terms were demanded for the support of a great measure which, in many cases, would dry up for the future a lucrative source of income. In the arrangements which followed there was nothing very extraordinary, according to the practice of the time, except the scale on which they took place. Over a million and a quarter sterling were added to the already swollen Irish debt; and from this source compensation was given to borough-owners, opponents as well as supporters of the Union. New peerages were lavishly created. The Place Act, which had been passed to reform the constitution of Parliament, was made use of to

corrupt it, by creating vacancies in the ranks of the Opposition. Outside of Parliament the area of bribery, in some form or other, was widely extended, and hostile office-holders were everywhere dismissed. The opposition made vain efforts to fight the Government with their own weapons; and Grattan himself, who had retired some years before from public life, was returned for a hastily purchased seat. Secure of their majority, the Government pressed on the measure, steadily refusing to take the opinion of the constituencies on it by a dissolution. The Union Act was carried through both Houses; and the Irish Parliament, which, though it had never been a really national one, was a historic institution, nearly as old as that of England, passed quietly away.

Another of those periods into which the history of Ireland naturally divides itself, and which correspond nearly to different centuries, had elapsed since the fall of the Stuarts. During that time a gentry and a merchant class of English blood and Protestant in religion were supreme, who, in spite of great numerical inferiority—which, far from diminishing, largely increased, owing to the disproportionate increase of the Catholic masses—and in the face of commercial restrictions imposed by the exclusive policy of England, made real progress, and improved in many respects the state of

the country. At the same time, they developed a distinctive Anglo-Irish character and a colonial nationality, and at length took advantage of the weakness of the mother-country after an unsuccessful war, to wring from her the concession of the independence of their colonial Parliament. The other Protestant section, the Presbyterians of the north, of mainly Scottish origin, forming a manufacturing and farming class, also developed independent traits and aims of their own. Suffering at first from grievances, religious as well as industrial, they became republican, and even revolutionary, in their temper, and took a prominent place in the citizen army which was formed for the defence of Ireland during the American war, and through whose influence legislative independence was largely won. Among the great Catholic population comprising the native and old colonial elements, between which no distinction was any longer made, and both of which were now known as "old Irish," the ranks of the gentry were further thinned through the operation of penal laws against their religion, and the merchant class of the towns was depressed from the same cause, till both were relieved, in a large measure, towards the end of the century by the removal of their chief disabilities. The Catholic peasantry, destitute of natural leaders, lived on in a state of hopeless poverty, aggravated by the

constant increase in their numbers, and the severe competition amongst them for the occupation of land. For nearly the whole period they remained strangely passive, except for agrarian combinations and outbreaks, which now took place among them for the first time. At last, excited by the French revolutionary ideas, communicated to them chiefly through the disaffected Presbyterian body, they rose against their masters, with the old watchwords of religion and land, no longer on behalf of, or under the leadership of, dispossessed landowners, but by and for themselves. This peasant revolt obtained little practical assistance from its instigators at home or abroad, and was swiftly and ruthlessly suppressed. But the fears it excited enabled England to profit by the embarrassment of the Irish ruling class, as they had once profited by hers, and to deprive them of their separate Parliament, which she regarded as a danger to herself. Irishmen, more than ever divided, without a true nationality, without a great popular leader, passively acquiesced in a legislative Union with England, and entered upon a new phase of their history.

We have seen that the social and intellectual standard of the bulk of the Protestant upper and middle classes during the eighteenth century was not very inferior to that of their kinsmen in England. That of the Presbyterians of Scottish

descent in Ulster resembled the one which prevailed in the adjacent parts of Scotland. But the Irish Catholic masses still lived apart from both, on a footing and in a fashion to which no parallel could be found in England, or even in Scotland, outside of the Highlands. A large and handsome city like the Irish capital was approached by lines of earthen cabins, no longer built in the Celtic fashion within a framework of wattles, or in the old half-timber style of England, but composed of mud and straw, like those which were still to be found in western Scotland. Such cabins, which were now almost universal over Ireland, commonly consisted of a single room, without a chimney. The peasantry, owing to their great increase in numbers, and the rise in the price of wool, appear not to have been so well clad as towards the end of the previous century. Their dress was now exclusively English, but with true Celtic conservatism they were slow to adopt the English changes of fashion; so that the foreign costume, as well as the foreign style of dwelling, which they made their own, has come to be regarded as a peculiarly Irish one. In spite of the abasement of the peasantry, their tone was usually gay and careless. They took delight in games, in dancing, and in listening to the wandering minstrels, who sang songs in the native language, which was still the prevailing one. Some of these

lyrics of the eighteenth century were political, and composed in honour of the fallen Stuart dynasty, and of the Irish exiles abroad, who, celebrated under the name of "Wild Geese," would, it was fondly hoped, return some day to liberate their race. Others were songs of love and carousal, while others again, written for serious moods, breathed the religious faith and devotion which were treasured in the hearts of the people. The latter part of the century gave a new bent to the popular mind, and in the political period which it ushered in, the literary cultivation of the Irish tongue received a fatal blow.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE MASSES

THE immediate changes brought about by the Union were mainly political. It led, no doubt, to some social ones, through the increase of absenteeism which it produced among the aristocracy. But, on the whole, the country remained in much the same condition as before. The chief administrative posts were, as always, held by Englishmen. Local government in country and town was still in the hands of the Protestant gentry and merchant class. The Established Church was guaranteed by the Act of Union in its position of supremacy. A Protestant ascendancy was, in fact, regarded as a fixed institution. Nevertheless, a good deal of irritation and a strong dislike of the Union continued to exist among the members of the State Church. Among Presbyterians, on the other hand, discontent, as we have seen, had greatly declined. To conciliate their ministers, the state-grant was now increased and paid to them direct. Catholic disaffection smouldered

among the masses, while the better class of Catholics were disappointed to find that Pitt, perceiving he could not easily carry out his project of emancipation, did not hesitate to abandon their cause. Their leaders were powerless to attract the attention of England, then absorbed in foreign politics, and their great Protestant advocate, Grattan, who had been returned to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, vainly urged their claims on English Ministers.

At length the voice of Irish Catholics succeeded through two different channels in reaching the ear of England. A poet arose among them who wrote in English verse, and interpreted, in what was still to most of them a foreign tongue, their aspirations and sympathies. Moore was a townsman born, and essentially a city poet. He had no acquaintance with the native language, or with the local traditions of the peasantry. But he was a born minstrel, and, writing in a style then in vogue in England, he quickly caught the popular fancy there. His Celtic traits were strongly marked, but belonged to the trained type of Celtic intellect. His poetry shows none of the old Celtic love of magic—a quality which naturally disappears with the growth of civilization—but it is marked by Celtic grace, by epigrammatic force, and by a true Celtic melancholy, full of the luxury of sorrow. Rarely stirred by strong passion, he was not wanting in moral earnest-

ness, and he had a genuine feeling for his country's wrongs. If the deeper springs of poetry never welled up in his heart, he could draw sweet draughts from those near the surface. A true musician, he seized on the surviving native airs, the inarticulate expression of the Irish heart, and gave them a language which, if it did not convey all they meant, at least harmonized wonderfully with their spirit. While dwelling on past sorrows, he soothed the pride of his race by romantic legends of former greatness. Thus he came to be accepted as a representative poet, at a moment when the masses were surging with new hope and a vague sense of power.

The effect of such poetry by itself could not, indeed, have been very profound. A greater and a ruder force was needed to rouse public opinion both in England and Ireland. For the first time in Irish history a popular leader arose, so supreme in will and genius as to carry with him the whole of his race. Irish history during the first part of the nineteenth century is little more than the biography of a great man. O'Connell, in origin, in character, and in sympathies, was a true Celt—high-spirited and daring, full of native humour and eloquence, unscrupulous in attack and resourceful in defence; with a perseverance not common among his race, but which has never

failed to win their admiration; cautious withal in times of crisis, and capable of moderation and compromise. He had been educated abroad, and brought to the Catholic cause a broadness and boldness of aim which seemed rash to old-fashioned leaders. Although not by nature a democrat, and always inflexibly opposed to the revolutionary spirit, he saw that the democracy alone could restore the old race and religion to power in Ireland. Thus the emancipation movement, which had already passed from upper to middle class Catholics, was now taken up, under his guidance, by the masses. They had, of course, no direct interest in the removal of the remaining disabilities; but he enlisted their enthusiasm by holding out hopes of their own regeneration, when members of their race and faith should obtain power. In the meantime he undertook to protect them against the resentment of the dominant class. But to carry out his plans he needed active local officers, whom the people would readily obey. Such a body of men could not be found among the few and dispirited Catholic laymen of the better class. Therefore he turned to the Church of the people.

The Catholic clergy, wholly excluded from public affairs after the Revolution, had since then shown little desire to take part in them. It had needed some pressure on the part of the Government to

induce Catholic prelates to support the Union, on the understanding that it should be followed by emancipation and a provision for the clergy of their Church. Neither of these expectations had been realized. The Irish Executive had discontinued political and even social relations with Catholic bishops; and it was becoming increasingly evident that English ministers would, or could, yield nothing to Ireland, except under strong necessity. The new generation of Catholic priests, who had not known the restraints of the penal laws, were not disposed to rely on the old leaders, who counselled patience and moderation; and they looked with admiration on the fiery young Catholic lawyer, who had already become a great public figure. The general tone of the Catholic clergy grew so independent, that, as a body, they heartily joined with the bulk of the laity in rejecting a project of emancipation, favourably entertained at Rome, by which the English Government would have some control over Catholic ecclesiastical appointments. By this course they finally lost touch with the Catholic aristocracy, who favoured what was known as the Veto. To men in this temper O'Connell appealed for assistance, and received it without stint. Instead of the old Catholic Boards and Committees, destitute of real influence and initiative, an organization was founded, to which

Ireland had never known a parallel. The only one that had even faintly resembled it was that of the Confederate Catholics of the seventeenth century. But that was an essentially aristocratic body, and one which proved incapable of maintaining Catholic unity. The new democratic organization was already partly made to hand. It was, in fact, a political adaptation of the great Latin organization of the Catholic Church in Ireland. It had a branch in every parish under the local priest. The Roman spirit of cohesion, for which Ireland had so long looked in vain, was now infused into the people. Thus the national feeling of the masses, as distinguished from vague race-sympathy, may truly be said to have been founded on an ecclesiastical basis. Whereas Celtic Ireland had tribalized the Church, and thereby cramped her energies, the Church, reconstituted on the Latin system, at length gave unity and collective life to the people.

The sole principle professed by the Catholic Association was moral force; but it did not hesitate to make use of the pressure of public feeling and ecclesiastical authority. Some things were said and done by clergymen as well as laymen which admitted of no defence; but, on the whole, the movement was a spontaneous one, powerfully appealing to popular sympathy. It was, in fact, an unarmed uprising of the peasantry, far more formidable than

the open rebellion of the previous generation. It established beside the regular Government of the land a system of popular government, which boldly grappled with, and finally prevailed over its rival. Supplied with a large revenue by subscriptions, collected even from the poorest cottiers, it defended for the first time the peasant against his master in the courts of law. At the same time it opposed agrarian crime, which rapidly diminished under its rule. An Act of Parliament designed to crush this formidable organization utterly failed. At length the dissolution of Parliament gave it the opportunity of showing its full power. The franchise was chiefly in the hands of small Catholic freeholders, of whom an enormous number had been created for political purposes by landowners during the previous generation. A lease of a plot of land for a life, often that of an old person, supplied the landlord with a perfectly obedient voter, whose vote was regarded as the absolute property of his master. It was calculated that one adult Irishman in five enjoyed the franchise, not generally for his own use, but as the deputy of another. O'Connell now resolved with the aid of the Catholic clergy to turn the weapon against those who had fashioned it. The freeholders were called upon to revolt against their masters; and popular Protestant candidates were elected for constituencies that had hitherto

been in the gift of territorial families. The return to Parliament of the Catholic leader himself brought matters to a crisis. The Tory ministers, who had hitherto been hostile to emancipation, gave way, and introduced a measure embodying it into Parliament, protesting that they did so to avoid civil war.

So great a victory, achieved by long-suffering peasants in the interest of a small body of co-religionists of higher rank, encouraged them to adopt drastic methods, in order to remove their own special grievances. Foremost amongst these was the payment of tithes to the Established Church. Apart from their natural objection to support the ministers of a religion which was not their own, there were peculiar circumstances connected with the tithe which made it extremely unpopular. Farmed out to tithe-proctors, abstracted from the produce of the peasant's scanty harvest, levied in some places on his staple food and fuel, it represented to him in its clearest and most odious aspect the supremacy of a foreign race. O'Connell himself, perceiving that the new Whig Government, though professedly friendly to Catholics, showed no intention of making their emancipation a reality by appointing any of them to high office, threw himself into the new movement. A proselytising campaign on a large scale, entered on by some

Irish Protestants, added fuel to the flame of the popular revolt against the tithe. All over the country the peasants combined to resist its payment. They had the sympathy and support of their own clergy; but the passions aroused among them by this movement were too intense to be held in check, as the agitation for Catholic Emancipation had been. The open organization which corresponded to the Catholic Association was supplemented, and its demands enforced, by a secret one, whose system of intimidation and outrage recalled some of the worst excesses of Whiteboyism. In many instances the ministers of the Established Church were reduced to extreme want. Attempts to collect the tithe were forcibly resisted, and sanguinary collisions took place between the people and troops of policemen and soldiers. With the approval of O'Connell, a system of exclusive dealing was organized, which was meant to ruin the advocates and payers of tithes, some of whom were deserted by their very servants. Successive Governments vainly endeavoured to pacify the country by stringent repressive legislation, and to enforce the payment of tithes. The popular organization proved once more too strong; and after seven years of social anarchy in Ireland and English party manœuvres at Westminster, the tithe was commuted for a money payment, and made payable by the owners of the

land. The new Tithe Rent Charge might be, and often was, added to the rent; but the change in the mode of its collection deprived it of its peculiar repulsiveness in the eyes of the peasant.

The deplorable social state of Ireland and the extraordinary influence of O'Connell had attracted attention, not only in England, but abroad. Englishmen began to realize that they had neglected the sister-country, that the Union had not produced the anticipated results, and that repressive legislation alone would never solve the Irish problem. A great change had recently taken place in the distribution of political power in England. By the first Reform Act it had virtually passed from the hands of the aristocracy to those of the middle class. No body of men could, perhaps, be found less fitted by natural temperament for the task of regenerating Irish society. Their dislike of strange ideas, their lack of imagination, their Puritanical aversion to the Catholic religion, their impatience at the slovenly habits and want of industrial energy which historical causes had produced among the Irish peasantry was combined with an ignorance of the chief factors in the Irish problem which made them dependent for all initiative in Irish legislation on their political leaders, many of whom suffered from the same disadvantages as themselves. On the other hand, they brought

to the treatment of the Irish difficulty a sense of duty, for which they have always been honourably distinguished, and which, if it had been allied with fuller knowledge and wider sympathies, might have made the later history of Ireland very different from what it has been.

It was, indeed, shortly previous to the Reform Act that the first decided step was taken by English statesmen towards a new Irish policy. It was now realized that to keep the Irish masses in ignorance while their consciousness of power had so greatly increased was a dangerous thing, and that want of enlightenment was closely connected with Irish social evils. Some attempts to educate the people had been made since the Revolution; but they had always failed through the proselytising spirit by which they were more or less pervaded. It was resolved to avoid this peril by obtaining the support of the clergy of all denominations in carrying out a system of undenominational education. Although less than one-third of the new Education Board were Catholics, and nearly all the officials were Protestants, the system was at first frankly accepted by the Catholic body; while both Episcopalian Protestants and Presbyterians disliked it, as deferring too much to Catholic feeling in the matter of religious instruction. The concessions which were made by degrees to Protestant

objections' changed the whole current of Catholic opinion. The change was favoured by a general tendency to increased rigour on the part of the Catholic Church in the assertion of her educational principles, in face of a revolt against dogma which was threatening to undermine her authority in almost every country. A long struggle ended in favour of the Irish Catholics by establishing, at least outside of Ulster, a nominally mixed, but virtually denominational, system of primary education, supported by the State. But the religious difficulty was not the only one which the Education Board had to encounter. One obstacle, indeed, which might have been expected to be formidable, was surmounted with comparative ease. Over the greater part of the country the peasantry still spoke the Irish language as their native tongue. The new system of education completely ignored this fact, and, even where children were absolutely ignorant of English, prescribed teaching in that language alone. That clergy and laity should, for the most part, have acquiesced, almost without a murmur, in this proscription of their old language, proves the absence of a clearly-defined national spirit among them. They were, in fact, largely absorbed in more material aims, and in many cases had come to share the English contempt for the Celtic tongue. It was otherwise when the Board, representing the colonial tradition,

attempted to Anglicize them in other ways, by means of text-books from which all Irish sentiment was rigidly excluded. So short-sighted a policy defeated its own ends, and left the people completely under the influence of anti-English traditions. On the whole, the National School system has achieved success in teaching the masses; but the education it has given them is a strictly formal one, and it has failed in most instances to inspire that feeling of self-respect and self-reliance which every good system of mental training ought to foster.

In his disappointment at the immediate results of Catholic Emancipation, O'Connell had raised the cry of Repeal of the Union. An agitation in that sense was begun, which became dormant for some years after the advent to power of a Whig ministry, in which O'Connell had confidence. Besides administering the law in a sympathetic spirit towards the peasantry, and appointing Irish Catholics for the first time to high office, this Government passed the Tithe Commutation Act, already referred to, a Poor Law and a Municipal Reform Act. Hitherto there had been no public provision for the poor in Ireland. O'Connell opposed the new measure on the ground that it was only a partial remedy, and would interfere with private charity. Nevertheless it was carried, and it undoubtedly served to reduce the prevalent mendicancy. But the workhouse system

proved, on the whole, a demoralizing institution, besides imposing a heavy burden on the poorer districts. The reform of the municipalities, though it extinguished the greater number of them, was a more popular measure. But the Catholics, who now obtained a majority in most of those which remained, emulated sooner or later the exclusiveness of the party of Ascendancy, which still maintained its old supremacy in a few towns in the north.

When the Whig Government retired from office, O'Connell, hoping for nothing from their successors, again raised the standard of Repeal. The great peasant population, full of confidence in their leader, and encouraged by their priests, who were still his firm allies, flocked to his support. He could also rely on the Catholic working-class in the towns, and a portion of the Catholic middle-class. His co-religionists of the higher class, for the most part, held aloof. The great body of the Irish Protestants, both Episcopalians and Presbyterians, had long since abandoned all desire for a native Parliament, in which they foresaw that their representatives would be an impotent minority. But the movement was, after a time, greatly strengthened by the adhesion of a few earnest young men of literary talents, who were in part Protestants, and who pursued a national aim on independent lines. The Young Ireland movement, as it came to be called, was perhaps less

remarkable for what it did than for what it attempted to do. Its literature, both in prose and verse, was full of Celtic fire and enthusiasm, but wanted that self-restraint, that purity of form, which periods of great unrest and agitation can scarcely attain. Its moral value lay in the higher ideals it furnished to a people struggling against material suffering, and nursed upon race-traditions. With much rhetorical exaggeration it combined a real honesty and candour, and diffused a conception of Irish nationality which embraced Irishmen of every class and creed. The leaders of the movement did not fear to break through the tradition of public flattery which O'Connell had established, and upon occasion boldly reproached the people with their faults. Such men were in many respects out of sympathy with the great agitator; but for some years they worked together in harmony. A Repeal Association, on the model of the old Catholic one, supported the agitation in every parish. The people again subscribed large sums, and assembled in monster meetings to press their demand upon the Government. They were even prepared for an armed outbreak, which some of the Young Irelanders openly favoured, when the Government took decisive action. A meeting near Dublin was proclaimed, and the trial and imprisonment of O'Connell dashed the popular hopes. On his release, the Irish Tribune, broken in

health, quarrelled with his young allies, who favoured the undenominational colleges for higher education, which a Conservative Government proposed to establish. He passed away at a moment when a supreme calamity weighed upon the people whom he had loved so well and served so long.

The social state of Ireland during the first half of the nineteenth century, a period of rapid progress in civilized lands, was at once an anomaly and a reproach. The general wealth of the country certainly increased, in spite of the decline of some minor manufactures which, previous to the Union, had been fostered by bounties. The linen trade made great strides in Ulster, and Belfast, its great emporium, rose to the rank of second town in Ireland. The system of agriculture improved in some districts, and although the prices of corn declined after the wars, it was still grown widely for the English market. Flour-mills greatly increased in number, while breweries and distilleries sprang up in the towns. But so far as the bulk of the people was concerned, such progress was largely neutralized by the abnormal growth of the population, which kept a great portion of them on the verge of starvation. This natural tendency of a poor and primitive peasantry to multiply in numbers was encouraged in the early part of the century by the creation of small freeholds for political purposes,

and by the practices of sub-letting and sub-division of land. These processes were at length rudely checked by legislation; but the immediate effect of checking them was to increase the prevalent destitution. The population continued to increase at the same rate, but new holdings could no longer be had; while the revolt, followed by the disfranchisement, of the small freeholders, made it the obvious interest of landowners to consolidate their little farms. Within less than half a century from the Union the population approached a two-fold increase, and millions depended absolutely for their sustenance on the potato, which root showed alarming signs of degeneracy. Milk, once so plentiful, was in many places regarded as a luxury. A vast cottier or labouring class existed without regular employment. Even where such was obtainable, severe competition kept wages at the lowest point. No marked improvement in the dwellings, dress, or social comforts of most of the peasantry was perceptible since the previous century. Nearly half of them still lived in one-roomed cabins, and shared them with their fowl and swine. Already there had been years of scarcity, and even of famine, which to thinking minds had plainly foreshadowed the appalling catastrophe which now befell the country.

A strange disease suddenly attacked the staple

food of the peasantry. The loss of half the potato-crop of one season was followed by an almost total failure in the two next. The people stood face to face with famine, with its attendant pestilence. In spite of the vigorous, though tardy and ill-directed action of the Government, and the noble private charity of individual Englishmen, about a million of souls seem to have perished of hunger and disease in a few years, while a million and a half emigrated to the New World. But it was not on the peasantry alone that the blow fell with crushing force. About a third of the landowners were reduced to great distress. During the famine they received no rents, while they were called upon to support the starving cottiers through a new measure which for the first time established outdoor relief in Ireland. Twenty shillings in the pound were in some places demanded from landlords who derived no income from their land. Such legislation seemed devised to compel them to clear their properties of pauper tenants, and too often had that effect. The latter retaliated by violence, and to the horrors of famine was added wide-spread agrarian crime, and even an abortive rising in the south.

In this agony of a whole people, there were not wanting spokesmen and organs of public opinion in England who heaped reproaches on Irish landlords as well as Irish tenants. After half a century

of Union, during which Englishmen had, with few exceptions, taken no pains to remedy the social condition of Ireland, they found themselves in presence of a calamity which discredited their rule in the eyes of the world. In their mortification some of them strove to cast the blame from themselves upon a class which, whatever its shortcomings might be, had always been loyal to England, and had done much to maintain English interests in Ireland. It would seem as if the middle class, which now ruled in England, hoped to make use of the opportunity afforded by the Famine, in order to replace, to a great extent, both Irish landlords and Irish tenants by a new race of agriculturists from England and Scotland. It was, at least, intended that land-tenure in Ireland should be placed on a purely commercial basis. The emigration of the peasantry was facilitated by the Government; and an Act was passed by which, in a period of deep depression, Irish estates could be rapidly and cheaply sold by incumbrancers.

To a great number of Irish landowners such a measure meant utter ruin. Some of them, indeed, were so overwhelmed with debts and charges that, in any event, their properties could hardly have been saved. But there were many estates which were far from being in a hopeless state. The system of forced sales introduced by the new Act compelled

the owners of such estates to part with them for less than half their value, and left them penniless after payment of the charges. In this way a large portion of the soil of Ireland again changed hands. Almost all the purchasers, however, were Irishmen, and the tenantry remained an Irish one. But the evil results of this legislation were very great. The former owners, most of them Protestants and of English blood, had many sympathisers among all classes in Ireland; and their treatment was widely regarded as another proof of the bad faith of English statesmen, by whom they had been placed and maintained in a position of supremacy, as defenders of English interests. To the occupiers of the purchased properties the change of landlords often proved very injurious. The new owners, who had no traditional ties with the tenantry, and had been encouraged by the administrators of the Act to buy in the hope of a rise in the value of land, as times improved raised the rents, sometimes to a high pitch. In the meantime a great economic measure, which had become law on the outbreak of the Famine, was transforming the whole system of agriculture, and rapidly diminishing the demand for agricultural labour.

The Irish Famine was the occasion, not the cause, of the Repeal of the Corn Laws. With the immediate object of relieving Irish distress, the markets of the United Kingdom were thrown open

to foreign food, a proceeding which necessarily depreciated the value of Irish agricultural produce in England. This measure, really carried in the interest of the English manufacturing classes, was a permanent one, and produced permanent results. The Irish climate and soil had always been specially favourable to pasture, while in the moist atmosphere corn often failed to thoroughly ripen. A comparatively thin, though locally congested, population had left the pastures generally unbroken until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when a corn-bounty and access to English markets made of Ireland a great corn-producing country. Although the price of corn had declined after the Napoleonic wars, the English demand for Irish corn had continued. The Repeal of the Corn Laws at once changed the whole agricultural situation. Ireland, which had been looked on as England's granary, being no longer required in that capacity, began to fall back into the pastoral state, for which it was peculiarly adapted. This change involved the displacement of a great portion of the peasantry, who naturally clung to their little holdings, beyond which they had often no prospect of an independent livelihood. The continual stream of emigration which flowed after the Famine could not carry away men of advanced years, or such as through temperament or associations shrank from quitting their birth-

places. Evictions, with their attendant crime, were thus produced; while, on the other hand, the standard of comfort and civilization among the people began at last to rise with the spread of railways, agricultural improvements, and an increase in the value of cattle. An attempt was made to unite the farming class in a constitutional organization; and for a moment the Presbyterian tenants of the north joined hands with the Catholic peasantry. But the alliance was short-lived. Except for agrarian outbreaks, Ireland remained passive, until an influence from abroad began to rouse anew the feelings of the masses.

This external influence was not, strictly speaking, a foreign one. Foreign influence in Ireland had been slight ever since the old intercourse with France had practically ceased at the end of the eighteenth century. But through the Irish emigrants to America, who kept up relations with their kinsmen at home, some of the ideas and tendencies of the New World now passed into Ireland. Even during the Catholic agitation Irish-Americans had given sympathy and help. But at that date their number was comparatively small. After the Famine took place what may be called the third Irish exodus, this time not one of ecclesiastics or soldiers, but an exodus of citizens. The millions who now poured out of Ireland turned their backs upon

Europe, and settled in North America, chiefly in the United States. Like their predecessors, the military emigrants, they left their country with a sense of wrong and a deep hostility to England. They landed in a country whose traditions in that respect resembled their own, and where they found full liberty to conspire against their former Government. English statesmen soon found that the political advantages, which seemed to be gained by the reduction in the disaffected element at home, were counterbalanced by its growth beyond the Atlantic. A conspiracy, organized in Munster by Irish-American influence, but quickly suppressed, was the first sign of a new movement. It was not till the close of the Civil War in the United States that that movement received a real impetus. Then Irishmen who had served in the American armies attempted to foment open rebellion in Ireland. The Fenian organization, at least in the towns, seems to have been as complete as that of the United Irishmen ; but when the Irish outbreak took place, it was not nearly so formidable as that of the previous century. In fact, it was almost as abortive as that of the Famine time, which had received no help from abroad. But the wide extension of the movement among the Irish population of the English towns, shown in daring rescue and cruel outrage, brought for the first time Irish discontent home to the minds of the English people.

The urban democracy of England had, through a recent extension of the franchise, become a great political force. To them was now passing from the middle class the sceptre of power, which the middle class itself had taken from the upper class more than a generation before. Though English workingmen disliked, as strangers and Catholics, the Irish labourers who flocked to England in search of employment, they had no sympathy with what remained of Ascendancy in Ireland. Their distrust of the Irish upper class was strengthened by the belief that it was the rule of that class which drove the poor Irish into the English towns, to lower the rate of wages there. Accordingly they were ready to join heartily in whatever legislation might be needed to break down the power of the dominant party in Ireland. The first object of attack was the Irish Church. Many of the new electorate were Dissenters, and any project directed against a Church Establishment was sure to receive their support. In Ireland itself the Church question was hardly regarded as a pressing one. Church rates had been long since abolished, and the tithe, which had formerly excited such bitter feeling, was now, where it was paid by the peasant at all, paid as part and parcel of his rent. The clergymen of the Established Church lived and spent their incomes among the people, with whom they were

often personally popular. Indeed, the feeling against the Church Establishment was perhaps strongest among the Protestant Dissenters of Ulster. But the Church of a small minority, placed by the State in a position of supremacy, in possession of sacred edifices and endowments which had once belonged to the Church of the people, was naturally in their eyes an object of offence. It only needed a powerful English statesman to suggest its overthrow, in order to arouse the active hostility of the Catholic masses.

Such a statesman now came forward. Whatever verdict history may finally pass on the political career of Gladstone, his name will always be intimately connected with the great changes which have taken place in Ireland during the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet in his equipment for the task which he undertook, he suffered from grave disadvantages. When he began his new departure in Irish legislation he had been nearly forty years in public life, during all which time he had never once been in Ireland. In the course of a long life he only spent a few weeks in that country. To the last he never seemed to realize the social aspect of the Irish problem, or the nature of the forces which were strongest in Irish society. But he had unbounded self-confidence, a natural sympathy with the weak, and a genuine desire to

make Ireland peaceful and prosperous. There was something so new in his whole attitude towards the Irish masses, he spoke a language of sympathy so strange in the mouth of an English minister, that the people turned to him with hope. They did not note that he promised no measure of relief which would entail a sacrifice on the part of England, or that it was himself who, as a financier, had been responsible for the first step in the over-taxation of Ireland, and that, too, at a period when she had not recovered from the effects of the Famine.

By the disestablishment of the State Church the traditional policy of striving to make Ireland Protestant, a policy which dated from the reign of Henry VIII., and which, in some form or other, had been pursued more or less deliberately ever since, was finally abandoned. The Church was deprived by statute of its endowments, estimated at fifteen or sixteen millions; but nearly half this sum was restored to it in the shape of compensation for vested interests. The sacred buildings remained in its possession. The Presbyterian clergy received a sum of about three-quarters of a million in lieu of their annual grant. Less than half that sum was paid to the Catholics, to compensate them for the cessation of State aid to their ecclesiastical college at Maynooth. The surplus, which was calculated

at seven or eight millions, was, according to the Act of Disestablishment, to be mainly applied to the relief of calamity or suffering. But it was ultimately appropriated to other purposes; and a large portion went to relieve the Imperial Treasury of educational grants to Ireland. The tithe was now paid by the landlord in the shape of a rent-charge to a State department, and continued to be payable to him by the occupier as part of his rent. The moral advantage of putting an end to the ascendancy of the Church of a small minority was unquestionable, and soon showed itself in the decline of the grosser forms of religious prejudice. But from a material point of view, the transference of property which accompanied it was of no benefit to Ireland, while it served to weaken the civilizing influence of a cultivated class in the community.

Having disestablished the Church, Gladstone boldly attempted to solve the problem of Irish land. The land system of Ireland was, theoretically, the same as that of England; but the conditions of rural life were so different in the two countries, that Englishmen were quite incapable of legislating from their own experience on the Irish land question. At that time the old country life of England was still practically unimpaired. The feudal land system had been there transformed by a natural change into a modern one, based

strictly on contract, but softened and humanized by friendly relations and social amenities between the landowner and the dwellers on his estate. It was he who maintained their farms and buildings in order and made improvements. In many instances he had succeeded to the property of a religious community, and his class had preserved much of the monastic spirit of benevolence. The demesne of the typical squire was often the village park. His house often contained the local picture-gallery and museum. He and his wife were foremost in all works of charity in their neighbourhood, and in the encouragement of village societies and sports. He built the village school and repaired the village church. He devoted a great part of his time to voluntary public service, sitting as magistrate on the bench, presiding at the Poor Law Board, and transacting local business at Quarter Sessions. Though not an elected ruler of the people, he was in the truest sense a representative one, occupying his position with their full approval, and from no vulgar motive, but on the ground of neighbourly duty and family tradition. Between him and the humblest peasant on his estate existed the sympathetic link of a common pride in the name of Englishman. Under new influences the rural life of the English gentleman has been clouded, and some day it may even pass away, like that of the

gentry of other lands. If so, a type of human society, as manly and as wholesome as any age and nation have produced, will have vanished from the earth.

The relations between landowner and occupier in Ireland were not of this type, and could hardly be. With few exceptions, outside of parts of Ulster, they represented different races and different creeds. The landlord, placed in a dominant position by England, looked to her for support and, if need were, for protection against the mass of his countrymen, including his own tenantry. In spite of the kindly feeling which often existed between him and the latter, there was seldom true sympathy. He stood apart from them, and in his heart looked down, as they well knew, on their religion and race. The position of supremacy, in which statute-law had once secured him, he maintained through the inexorable economic law, which made him sole dispenser of what, in most places, was the one source of wealth, and even the one means of subsistence—the land. Hence his position might be, and often was, in some respects more like that of a feudal lord than that of a modern English landlord. His tenants and dependents, while never abandoning the hope of the future resurrection of their race, and occasionally combining against his interests, openly courted his favour. But whether on the bench, or on the Grand Jury, or in Parliament, he

was in no full sense their representative. Nor had he, as a rule, an income approaching that which enabled the English squire to be so great a benefactor to his neighbourhood. He did not generally keep in order or improve his tenants' farms. In too many instances he resided habitually out of Ireland, and suffered the supervision of his property to fall into other hands. But, on the whole, considering the extent of the power possessed by Irish landowners, it cannot be truly said that at this period they generally abused it. In a country where the law distinctly recognised competition, not custom, as the basis of rent, and where competition existed in an extreme form, the bulk of the old landowners, who were still the great majority, did not exact competitive rents. It was otherwise with many of the new proprietors, who had purchased estates since the Famine, and who managed them on purely commercial principles. But even under a good landowner the fact that the occupier was usually a tenant-at-will, while he had sometimes invested money and labour in improving his holding, made him feel his position insecure.

Another circumstance which contributed to bring the land-question into prominence was a marked advance during twenty years in the material welfare of a great part of the people. It is a well-known fact, often exemplified in history, that men are

commonly more patient of extreme poverty than of an improved, but still unsatisfactory, condition. The old one-roomed cabin had now almost disappeared from the more fertile districts. There the dress and food of the people were far superior to what they had been, and education had spread rapidly. Wages had nearly doubled, and drainage-works had increased the productiveness of the land. Cattle and sheep were much improved in breed and enhanced in value. But there were a good many places, especially in the west, where the old state of things more or less prevailed. The evil case of the Connaught cottier was utilized by the comparatively prosperous peasant and the thriving farmer east of the Shannon to press for a measure of land-reform which would benefit themselves. There was also a strong popular feeling against the consolidation of small holdings and the growth of pasturage, as well as the reduction of population through the continual flow of emigration. A desultory agitation was maintained, backed by occasional outbreaks of agrarian crime. Everywhere the occupiers demanded the extension and legalizing of what was known as the Ulster Custom, which on many estates in the north gave the tenant a saleable interest in his holding, and practically secured him against excessive rent.

This custom, sometimes called tenant-right, which

had originated in a province where, without it, competition for land might have produced a chronic warfare of races and religions, was, to a large extent, adopted by Gladstone as the model of his new legislation. Like all such customs, it could not but lose, when thrown into legal shape, much of its force and all its flexibility. But so great was the desire on all hands to settle the agrarian difficulty, that no serious opposition was offered to the new measure. Little exception, indeed, could have been taken to the principle of reasonable compensation to an out-going tenant for useful improvements, or perhaps to the right of sale of tenancy, as it existed in Ulster. But the provision known as compensation for disturbance, by which a heavy fine became payable by the landlord to the ordinary tenant, if he dispossessed him for any other cause than non-payment of a reasonable rent, broke down the existing basis of land-ownership, and paved the way for an agrarian revolution. The tenant now virtually became, in most instances, a sort of partner with the landlord in possession of his holding. But he was a discontented partner, whose share seemed fluctuating and doubtful, and whose aim it was to define and enlarge it at the expense of the other.

By such legislation in a country in the condition and with the past history of Ireland, the agrarian revolution had become simply a matter of time,

It was soon to be accelerated by special causes. The Fenian movement was no longer active; but its spirit continued to influence the popular imagination, and that spirit alone gave vitality to a new demand—which the Fenian leaders themselves discountenanced—for the re-establishment of an Irish Parliament on a federal basis. The Home Rule movement, supported at first by men of moderate opinions, tended to become a revolutionary one, and to be associated in the mind of the people with revolutionary aims. But a more powerful incentive suddenly came home to the hearth of the peasant in the form of acute depression. Bad seasons and a fall in agricultural prices, owing to increased competition from abroad, produced want in the poorer districts, and put an end in the others to the upward social movement which had been going on for a generation; thus giving the never-extinct land agitation a new and violent impulse. Irish-American and Fenian influence again became active in Ireland; but this time it took a social rather than a political form, though its ultimate object still was a political revolution. Mainly through it and the funds which it supplied, a great organization was founded in the west, which quickly spread to the more prosperous parts of the country, where it could scarcely have originated. This organization, in its thoroughness

and unity, fully equalled any which had been known in the time of O'Connell, while the growth of the people since then in education and sense of power made it even more formidable than the older movements had been. Its aims and methods at first repelled the Catholic clergy; but partly through sympathy with the agricultural class, from which they chiefly sprang, partly from their position of dependence on the people, most of them ultimately flung themselves into it, and were carried away by the current of the Land League.

In spite of the powerful forces arrayed in its favour, the extraordinary success of the new movement could hardly have been attained among a people of mainly Celtic blood, except under the guidance of a man who summed up the popular aspirations, and possessed the essential qualities of a great leader. Such a man was found in Parnell, by far the most remarkable public man who had arisen in Ireland since the death of O'Connell. A comparison of the characters of those two great agitators shows how different the social state of the Irish masses was in the latter half of the nineteenth century from what it had been in the first. O'Connell, indeed, would have been powerful among them at any period of Irish history; but Parnell could scarcely have found his opportunity in the Ireland of pre-Famine times. Sprung from the

later race of colonists, who succeeded in the seventeenth century to the estates of the old proprietors, a Protestant in creed, educated in England, with English manners and address, and a more than English calmness and reserve, he might well appear unlikely to take the place in the confidence of the people of the thoroughly Celtic O'Connell. Both, indeed, resembled each other in some important qualities—in earnestness, in perseverance, in self-reliance, in a boundless, yet calculated, audacity. Both had a natural gift of personal authority. Both loved power, and showed little scruple in the way they exercised it. Both lost it in the end, and died in the shadow of failure. Both strove for an Irish Parliament by direct and indirect means, but Parnell went much nearer to the goal. In their ideals, however, they were widely different. O'Connell, although he allied himself with English Liberals, was really of the type of a popular leader of the Middle Ages—a devoted son of the Church, continually appealing to the religious side of the Irish character, and utterly opposed to the sceptical and revolutionary spirit. Parnell, on the other hand, in spite of a conservative leaven in his temperament, which is almost universal among Irishmen, had modern and even utilitarian views, and was almost without a trace of Celtic idealism or Celtic eloquence. He was not even well

acquainted with the history and traditions of the people whom he led, but he understood their feelings. If he was not himself a revolutionist, he maintained a good understanding with the revolutionary party. When he entered Parliament, he took up and systematized the policy of obstruction which had already been begun, and on the outbreak of the land agitation he embarked in it and became its leader.

The nature and results of this great movement are still fresh in the memory of the present generation—the combination against rents, enforced by a system of persecution and crime on a scale unparalleled in Ireland for nearly half a century; and the successive Land Acts, passed by Liberal and Conservative Governments, by which, in order to satisfy the Irish tenantry without cost to the British tax-payer, some of the clearest rights of the owner in connection with his property were taken from him without compensation, and a portion of that property virtually handed over to the occupier. No one has yet forgotten a further consequence of the agitation, the Home Rule proposals of Gladstone, which went beyond the wishes and did not obtain the assent of the democratic electorate of England. Short of this, popular ideas have prevailed more fully in Ireland than in the sister-country. A wide extension of the franchise has destroyed, outside of parts

of Ulster and a portion of the capital and its neighbourhood, all that remained of the political influence of the upper class of Irishmen. A sweeping measure of local government has almost excluded them, except in the same districts, from the administration of local affairs in town and country. In fact the English democracy has proved itself willing, not only to dispense with the assistance of cultivated Irishmen in the government of their country, but to alter the framework and recast the form of Irish society.

Looking back on the whole course of Irish history in the last century, one perceives that it has been, generally speaking, characterized by an upward movement among the masses, which has greatly altered, and in some respects has reversed, the relative positions of races, classes, and creeds. Viewed more closely, it divides itself into three nearly equal periods, each of them corresponding to the predominance of a different class in England, and each marked by a distinct Irish policy pursued by English statesmen. Thus the general aspect of English rule in Ireland during the nineteenth century is one of inconsistency and weakness. During the first period, while the aristocracy still prevailed in England, the old ascendancy of the State Church and the landed class was maintained till near the close, when the masses rose in unarmed revolt under a great leader, and fairly wrested Catholic Emanci-

pation from their rulers. They followed up their success by another combination, extending into the next period, and this time directed against the revenues of the Established Church; in which movement, after a long season of bloodshed and anarchy, they partially succeeded. The second period, that of middle class supremacy in England, saw various reforms, which increased the influence of the masses, but did not substantially improve their social condition or conciliate their minds. Greatly swollen in numbers, they rose once more under the same leader in a third great agitation, demanding the restoration of the Irish Parliament; but this movement was weakened by discord, and finally collapsed upon the outbreak of a great famine. The commercial spirit of the English middle class now found expression in efforts to remove from the Irish soil impoverished landlords as well as tenants, and to set the Irish land-system on a strictly business footing. But although a good deal of land changed hands, most of the old landlords continued to retain their estates; while the peasantry, pouring in vast numbers across the Atlantic, became in a foreign nation an element permanently hostile to England. Those who remained at home advanced for the most part in education and prosperity, but deeply resented the continued emigration and the growth of pasturage.

Encouraged in disaffection by their kinsmen abroad, they joined with them in a rebellious conspiracy which, though it quickly came to naught, produced profound results in legislation. The shock caused by its outbreak among the Irish working-class in peaceful England combined with the growth in power in the English democracy to inaugurate a new Irish policy. In the third period, which now began, an English statesman, sympathetic and courageous, but unprepared for the task, took up eagerly the solution of the Irish problem. The Irish Church was disestablished, and the control of Irish landowners over their property was abridged, in contradiction to the whole spirit of legislation in the previous period. Emboldened by success, assisted from America, and unexpectedly impoverished by bad harvests and falling prices, the peasantry again combined under a new leader, who represented more advanced views than the old one of the previous generation. A fourth agitation, as highly organized, if not as violent, as any which had preceded it, was followed by those great democratic measures of recent date, through which the elder race now possesses a large interest in the soil, and, for the most part, controls the Parliamentary representation and the local government of Ireland.

Not only politically, but socially, is the state of Ireland very different from what it was one hundred

years ago. The population, indeed, although it rapidly increased during the first half of the century, till it bade fair soon to double in numbers, fell off again through famine and emigration, so that it is now somewhat less than it was at the time of the Union. But in all the elements of material comfort and civilization the people have, on the whole, greatly advanced. Although the country remains an almost purely agricultural one, and has suffered for twenty years from deep agricultural depression, its wealth is far greater now than it was at the beginning of the century. Taxation, on the other hand, has enormously increased, in violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the Act of Union. The condition of the Atlantic seaboard, where the older Ireland still lingers, shows by contrast the improvement of the rest of the country. And even near the Atlantic the spread of railways and the intervention of the State, which, though tentatively and on a small scale, has at length come to the aid of the helpless, are working a gradual change. Yet it cannot be said that progress has brought contentment with it. Much remains to be done, and the existence of far greater prosperity in Great Britain excites at times a feeling of despondency. For a backward country to rise to the level of an advanced neighbour, under economic conditions which are wholly against her principal industry, is no easy task.

In the one part of Ireland where manufactures flourish, the north-eastern corner of Ulster, by far the greatest material progress has been made. If the Presbyterian farmer has felt the injurious effects of Free Trade, the Presbyterian trader and artisan have benefited by it, and have succeeded through energy and enterprise in achieving the industrial success from which they were debarred by English commercial jealousy in the eighteenth century. In concert with their fellow-Protestants of the Episcopalian persuasion, they have created a city which in industry and prosperity can compare with the flourishing manufacturing towns of England and Scotland, and the commerce of whose port exceeds that of the old capital of the Pale. Although Dublin remains the seat of the Irish Executive and judiciary, and the centre of Irish culture, the results of absenteeism and of the impoverishment of the landed class are there manifest. As an emporium of English and foreign merchandise, and as an outlet for the Irish cattle-trade, she has still importance, and her port has greatly grown. But she has no longer a distinct life of her own. Her whole aspect is that of a city which lives in the past. Since the Union she has been abandoned by the Irish aristocracy. Such manufactures as she once had, except brewing and distilling, have fallen into utter decay. Her broad streets are silent, and an

air of listlessness hangs over everything. Her chief citizens are almost excluded on political grounds from the management of her affairs. The same or an even more unsatisfactory state of things prevails among the sea-port towns of the south and west.

The second half of the century has seen a great change in the habits and tone, as well as in the condition of the majority of the people. They have almost everywhere abandoned, or are abandoning, their national language. With it have largely perished the folk-lore and customs which were once distinctive of Irish peasant-life—the fairy legend, the Celtic song and story, the dance at the cross-roads, the village games and jests. The people are less light-hearted, less fanciful than they were. But increased seriousness does not seem to make them more industrious. The modern spirit of social unrest has come in to reinforce the old tribal contempt of labour, while it has sapped the Celtic feeling of personal loyalty which the servant formerly showed towards his master. The success of popular agitation has filled the peasantry with vague hopes, and diverted many of them from leading quiet, self-reliant lives. The cottage industries which once gave indoor employment have almost died out. During most of the year there is a great lack of employment for rural labourers, while wages have been maintained at the standard which they had

reached in more prosperous times. Nearly everywhere the younger generation can read and write, and they take a lively interest in politics. Their favourite newspapers are vehemently anti-English; but in the tales they read and songs they sing, as in the dress they wear, they follow English popular fashion. They profess strong national sentiments, but their nationality is of a strictly political type. Early marriage has ceased among them; but religious faith still preserves that domestic virtue which sheds a halo over the peasant's life.

The tone of the Irish upper class has also changed since the beginning of the century. They have become less Irish in character and feeling. Steamships and railways have made intercourse with England so easy, that most of them have been educated there, have strengthened old ties with what is still in their eyes a mother-country, and have found there a sympathy and a congenial atmosphere denied to them at home. They have been more and more alienated from a country where they have been deprived of almost all share in public life, where their landed property is being gradually confiscated, where they are constantly held up to popular odium as responsible for economic evils and historic wrongs. Many of them have been reduced to deep distress. Many old mansions are untenanted and falling into ruin.

The small Catholic upper class, comprising the remnant of the old proprietors, to whom the peasantry were once so devoted, have been confounded in a democratic age with the descendants of the Protestant settlers. The upper middle class of the towns sympathize, generally speaking, with the landowners. But they too possess little public influence, and can give little more than sympathy.

The social revolution among laymen has found its counterpart in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Church of the once-ruling minority has become far less powerful than that of the people. True, the power of the Established Church, even among its own members, was never a strictly religious one. No strong religious influence can be widely exercised over an educated laity by the clergy of any Church whose religious system is based on the principle of private judgment. But even the social and moral influence of the Protestant Episcopalian Church, to say nothing of a political one, appears to be less than it was. On the other hand, the Catholic clergy have risen during the last century to secular power. Through the voluntary contributions of a poor people they commonly possess far higher incomes than the same clergy in other and richer countries, where religion is maintained by the State. They have been enabled, from the same voluntary source, to build everywhere churches,

convents, and schools, and to replace the cottages in which they once lived by commodious parochial houses. In many constituencies they control the local and Parliamentary representation. At the same time they lack higher educational opportunities and that independence of popular feeling which is essential to a wise leadership. Whether their political power has increased, or is likely to increase, the religious sentiment among the people may well be doubted. In primitive societies, such as Paraguay under Jesuit rule; among peoples imbued with intense religious enthusiasm, as the Israelites once were; in a great social catastrophe, like that which accompanied the overthrow of the Roman Empire; in a military type of society, like the mediæval one, where education is commonly despised by laymen; in the course of a movement to defend or assert religious rights or interests, like the agitation for Catholic Emancipation, the clergy naturally and necessarily take a prominent part in public affairs. But where none of these conditions exist, and in a society like the modern one, where educated laymen are prone to resent the political intervention of the clergy as an encroachment on their own sphere, many will hold that such intervention, actively and systematically pursued, cannot fail in the long run to injure the cause of religion.

It cannot be said that Irish intellectual life, though it has been more widely diffused, has been deepened during the present century. Some eminent men of science and many graceful and versatile writers, with a few of solid merit have arisen; but they have usually emigrated to England, to find an atmosphere less charged with politics and a more appreciative public. Nor has Ireland produced any literary men since the Union to be compared with her classical authors of the last century, whose works will live with the English language. Irish successes have been largely attained in ephemeral literature and journalism. Irish oratory has been conspicuous during a period when eloquence has generally declined, but its quality has deteriorated. What has been said as to the flight of literature from Ireland also applies to art. Irish sculptors, painters, and musicians, as soon as they have attained, or even show promise of, excellence, have generally made their way to London. On the other hand, the University of Dublin retains its old eminence, and remains a rallying-point for intellectual culture. But its influence does not penetrate the Catholic majority, while another university, established for their benefit, has been a failure, through its founders not having taken account of Catholic scruples. The Celtic literature of Ireland, long neglected, has again been studied both at home

and on the Continent; and a movement of a truly patriotic character is on foot to preserve the national language. Irish archæology, once the plaything of fantastic theories, has been placed on a sound basis; and old Irish art has been elucidated with much research and genuine feeling.

In the midst of many changes one sentiment remains constant among the bulk of the Irish people—their dislike of the connection with England. To some extent, no doubt, this feeling is simply a historical survival; and with a revival of agriculture and the final acquisition of the soil by the peasantry, it would probably, in a great measure, subside in the rural districts. Among the working-class of the towns, with whom the feeling is more deep-seated, it is, and will doubtless remain for some time, associated with a revolutionary and republican ideal. Should Irish emigration to the United States decline, and a more kindly feeling towards England continue to spread there, this Fenian spirit will be naturally weakened. Apart from political aims, the people in general retain much of the outlaw spirit, which generations of proscription instilled into their minds. They have an instinctive repugnance to English law in any repressive form, although they freely avail themselves of it in their private quarrels. They dislike and shun its ministers, and have a natural tolerance, if not a sympathy, for the law-

breaker. Though nursed upon tradition, their knowledge of the history of their country is generally of the vaguest kind. To a careful observer it will be evident that their anti-English sentiment contains an element of antipathy which they do not attempt to explain, even to themselves. The fact is that they have an instinctive, an almost unconscious, craving for a different type of civilization.

Had Ireland at the close of the Middle Ages come under the protection and influence of a Latin, particularly a Celto-Latin, nation, like France, it may be confidently asserted that she would have much more readily embraced its ideas and imbibed its civilization than she has done with those of England. Latin civilization would from the first have imposed much less restraint on the Celtic temperament, and inflicted far fewer wounds on Celtic feeling. The soil of Ireland would now be divided among many occupiers, who would be encouraged in their affection for it, instructed in its cultivation, and protected by law against foreign rivals. Manufactures and commerce would be fostered by the hand of the State. The Irish cities would be surrounded by avenues of trees, and crossed by long, white streets. They would be plentifully supplied with bright coffee-houses and places of amusement, and their promenades would be thronged on holidays with smiling and vivacious crowds, taking their pleasure gracefully and with a

child-like earnestness. The military spirit of the people would have its outlet in a national army, in which every citizen would serve. Their natural eloquence would find vent in an atmosphere of enthusiasm, their wit in one of fancy, their pathos in one of sensibility. Their religious aspirations would be gratified by stately temples, by majestic ceremonies, by solemn processions and pilgrimages. Their artistic faculty would be developed with a southern grace and warmed with a southern glow. Their national language would be the universal medium of intercourse. Without having lost its strength it would have gained in precision, and be applied with ease to the expression of modern thought. Its literature would be full of the joy and sorrow of human life, now sparkling with epigram, now melting into tenderness. The national intellect would show a deductive genius, a power of keen analysis, a love of combining the items of knowledge and shaping them into a symmetrical whole. Trade and agriculture would be pursued with energy, in a spirit of thrift rather than of enterprise, and labour would be lightened by song.

This type of civilization would, doubtless, have its shadows. But whatever the net result of a different course of history might have been, the Celtic temperament must bow to accomplished facts. English influence has prevailed in Ireland, and will, in all

probability, prevail in the future. A country incomparably richer and more populous, which lies between Ireland and the Continent, which has command of the seas, and is the sole external market for Irish agricultural produce, must continue to wield a supreme influence over Irish society. Obviously it is the interest of the Irish people to cordially embrace English civilization, while retaining a healthy Irish spirit, and softening with the light Celtic touch the harsher outlines of English life. And if the English type of society be not the most attractive, it is surely in some respects the soundest. It is, moreover, peculiarly fitted to curb the natural extravagance of the Celtic character, and subject it to a salutary discipline. Its calmness serves to check the Irish impulsiveness, and its seriousness to restrain the Irish love of enjoyment. In spite of strange Puritanical outbursts and a note of unlovely Pharisaism, it is marked by a general sincerity, and in its highest development by a noble simplicity. It has an instinctive love of order and justice. It respects, in a high degree, the sanctity of home and the family life. It points out the path of duty before that of heroism, and enjoins patience while it applauds courage. It is altogether a civilization of a sterner cast than the Latin one, a daughter of the North, of the sea-breeze and the seamist. It has produced a literature second only to

that of ancient Greece, rarely equalled, in its best examples, among secular literatures for solemn grandeur, for chastened imagination, for homage to purity and truth. Although not artistic in character, it cultivates art with zeal, if without southern enthusiasm. In painting it has not attained, and never can attain, to the tender purity of Umbria, the lustrous beauty of Venice, or the mystic devotion of Spain; but it strives with a mediæval earnestness to give its artistic work a high aim and a moral purpose. It is in all things practical and self-reliant, seeking everywhere health, and strength, and individual liberty. It endeavours by private munificence to supplement public charity, and to reduce the sum of human, and even of animal, suffering. Beneath a cold, and at times a scornful, exterior it conceals genuine sympathy, and hides human tenderness under a mask of indifference. It has won its way over large portions of the earth by strength, not by attraction, imposing itself upon foreign peoples without appealing to their sympathies. It is at once the most humane and the least human of civilizations, everywhere admired but seldom loved.

A natural repugnance to the English type of civilization would accentuate, but could not have created, those anomalies of Irish society which excite the wonder of strangers, and even sometimes of

natives. Two very different explanations are, indeed, current, both so plainly false as not to deserve mention, were it not that they appear to be widely accepted. They have that quality which the uninquiring mind everywhere appreciates—simplicity—never realizing that truth is often not simple but complex. One attributes every defect in the present state of Ireland to English malignity ; the other to Irish folly. One represents the English character as essentially selfish, tyrannical, and hypocritical. The other depicts Irish nature as distinct from all other varieties of human nature, as fundamentally perverse and intractable. Such estimates simply refute themselves in the eyes of thinking men. The difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory explanation disappears when, by following the historical method, we perceive that the causes are manifold, and are to be traced in a combination or chain of events and circumstances, any one of which would by itself have been insufficient to produce the actual state of things.

A brief retrospect will resume in outline the chief of these influences. The first in order is the geographical one. Ireland is an island which has always remained more or less outside of Continental influence. It is shut off from the Continent by a larger island, through which Continental civilization would naturally pass. Although part of the Irish

soil is very fertile, and the climate is mild, it is not a really good corn-producing country ; but its grass is of superior quality. Even the ancients, who knew apparently very little about it, were acquainted with the excellence of its pastures. During the whole course of her history Ireland has never been a largely corn-producing country, except for some seventy years. Thus the inhabitants have been, on the whole, a pastoral people, and therefore less naturally progressive than if they had been employed in tillage. Moreover, Ireland lacks mineral wealth capable, through quantity or quality, of making of her a manufacturing country on any large scale. With great natural advantages for commerce in her rivers and harbours, she has never had anything of peculiar value to attract foreign merchants. Under these circumstances she has never been likely to be greatly affected by foreign influences, except through Britain. Even the Romans, who held Britain for centuries, never thought it worth their while to invade Ireland. Nor would they have found its thorough conquest an easy task. The more valuable part of the country, the rich prairies and river-valleys, might be easily overrun ; but the rest of the soil was occupied by forest, moor, and mountain, where the natives could always find a natural refuge.

If after the withdrawal of the Roman legions

from Britain the Irish had been conquered by the Britons, a people akin to them in blood and language, the geographical influence on Ireland's destiny would not have been nearly so important. But the Britons were themselves conquered by the English, a branch of the very different Teutonic family, who, conquered in turn by Norman invaders, passed under their leadership into Ireland, on the track of their kinsmen the Danes, whose coast settlements there they absorbed. Thus the second great influence, that of race, came into vigorous action. The newcomers, being, unlike the Irish, a sea-faring people, held possession of the principal ports and river-mouths, thus monopolizing external commerce, and effectually isolating the natives. The opposition of the latter in the interior was of a desultory but persevering kind, and wherever they could they preserved the primitive tribal system, which had long since died out among the English. The colonists, unable to subdue them in their retreats, and unwilling at first to blend with them, or to give them civic rights, treated them as serfs or aliens. Nevertheless, Celtic influences gradually gained ground among the descendants of the settlers. It was not until some time after the close of the Middle Ages that a really systematic conquest began. After a long struggle it was finally achieved. Race prejudice would now naturally have diminished with

the acquisition of English citizenship by the natives, were it not for the introduction of a new disruptive force, that of a strange religion.

The early colonists from England had at least community of faith with the natives. Both belonged to the same Church and acknowledged the authority of the Pope. When Protestantism was introduced into Ireland, both united in rejecting it. Yet so keen was the dread of the interference of Rome in Irish affairs entertained by English statesmen, that it became their traditional policy to force Protestantism upon the Irish people. This policy, which could not be vigorously pursued till Ireland was thoroughly conquered, was at once taken in hand after the conquest. The whole wealth and strength of Ireland lay in the soil. It was, therefore, proposed to root out the Catholic landowners, native and colonist, and, as far as possible, Catholic occupiers, and replace them by Protestants from Great Britain. Hence confiscations and plantations, leading, whenever the opportunity arose, to revolt and civil war. Hence an elaborate system of penal laws, designed to extirpate Catholic landowners and keep the Catholic lower orders in a state of ignorance and dependence. Hence the establishment of the religious ascendancy of a small minority, an institution hardly paralleled in modern times. Hence the tendency to make of religion a party badge and

emblem, in order to distinguish different races and classes who, partially at least, employed the same language.

To geographical, racial, and religious influences, unfavourable to the development of Irish society, came to be added political and economic ones. The country had been handed over to the keeping of a new race of colonists, Protestant in religion, and indisputably loyal to the mother-country. But it was to be governed strictly as an English colony, according to the then current colonial policy, *i.e.*, in the agricultural and commercial interests of England. In this spirit its nascent industries were crushed by English interference, the free export of its agricultural produce to England was prevented, and commercial intercourse with other English colonies was practically closed. True, the suppression of its manufactures did not directly inflict so permanent an injury as has sometimes been supposed. The introduction of steam-power and the industrial revolution would sooner or later have transferred most of them to the neighbourhood of the English collieries, as it has done with those which once flourished in the east and south of England. But the habits of industry and the higher standard of comfort which manufactures would have created, would have been permanent, and would have reacted on the whole social life of Ireland. They

would have stimulated Irish agriculture and checked the reckless sub-division of land and the improvident marriages which led up to the catastrophe of the Famine. In default of manufactures, the population, growing rapidly in numbers, pressed with increasing weight upon the soil; and this tendency was intensified when the country, through the opening of the English market, became a largely corn-growing one.

Through the greater part of the eighteenth century English policy in Ireland, though narrow, was, on the whole, consistent. But since the Union, England in her relations with the sister-country conveys, on the whole, the impression of not having known her own mind. Broadly speaking, she has had three distinct policies, according to the distinct views of the three classes which have successively predominated in public affairs. But even under the government of one and the same class refusal has been followed by concession, avowedly made to violence, and justice has been openly sacrificed to expediency. During the first half of the century the population of Ireland increased at an abnormal rate under a system of Protection. During the second half, with a policy of free-trade, it has even more rapidly diminished. The overthrow of religious ascendancy and the extraordinary privileges granted to tenant-farmers have not conciliated the

masses; while the civilizing influence of the higher classes has been in some districts almost destroyed. It is this system of class and party government of Ireland during the present century which explains a great part of England's failure there, in comparison with her success elsewhere. Had she attempted to govern India on the same lines, her failure would doubtless have been even greater than in Ireland. From such a temptation she has hitherto been saved by the remoteness of that vast country, its non-representation in the Imperial Parliament, and the general indifference of the British public to Indian affairs.

Analogy proves plainly enough that no one of the influences cited above from Irish history would account for the total result. The remote position of Ireland could hardly have made her history more abnormal than that of Norway. Her want of mineral wealth and prevalence of pasture find a parallel in industrious Holland. Racial peculiarities alone ought to have made her modern state resemble that of Wales, as did her ancient one. Commercial disabilities in Ireland in the eighteenth century were scarcely greater than in the American colonies. Free-trade and party-government in the nineteenth have applied equally to Great Britain. Religious revolts and wars have raged with equal ferocity and for far longer periods in France and Germany.

Religious ascendancy in the case of a minority of the population has certainly been very exceptional. But it long existed, under the rule of the Arian German tribes, over the greater part of the fallen Western Empire. On the other hand, there is no country but Ireland where all these influences have existed, partly together, partly in succession, for long centuries, confirming and perpetuating in the presence of civilization itself some of the weaknesses of a primitive society.

Among the evils from which Ireland still suffers there are two of special gravity to which, it may be hoped, English statesmanship will at length apply a remedy. Of the twin great questions of the past, that of religious disabilities is theoretically almost extinct. But it still practically exists in connection with higher education and those public offices for which a university training is almost indispensable. The people of England, who have handed over Irish Parliamentary representation and local government to the Irish democracy, still refuse to its leaders, on the only terms on which they are willing to accept it, that higher education without which great power can rarely be wisely used. The English statesman who shall succeed in satisfying the scruples of Irish Catholics in this matter, without exciting an outbreak of the Puritanical spirit in England, will have deserved well of both countries,

The other old question, that of the land, is still unsettled. All parties are practically agreed that in a large number of cases, the transference of the soil on equitable terms from the owner to the occupier is the only remedy for the unnatural situation created by the Land Acts. If this were once done, the great barrier between races, classes, and creeds would be at length broken down, common action among Irishmen for common objects would become possible, and a healthy public spirit might begin to take the place of morbid political feeling. In this way the democratic institutions which have been extended (prematurely, as some will think) to Ireland would be given a chance of success. But as long as the higher classes, who form a natural local executive, and whose administrative powers have been amply proved in the colonies, are practically excluded from government at home, that government will hardly be an efficient one.

Upon the realization of these hopes depends the immediate future of Ireland. Will her long spell of misfortune at length be broken? Will English statesmen, oblivious for a moment of party, unite to heal old wounds, and to put Irish society upon a firm basis? Will the Irish democracy, recognizing its own limitations, and forgetting the feuds and passions of the past, greet the members of the higher classes as fellow-countrymen, and grant them their

due share of consideration and power? Will those classes, while making no surrender of principle or conviction, become in sentiment more frankly Irish, and, discarding on their part all bitter recollections, work zealously for the regeneration of their country? Will the clergy of all denominations, regardless of personal interest or ambition, strive consistently to uphold in all social relations the supremacy of the moral law, and to diffuse a spirit of universal charity? If all this happens, a new prospect will surely open for Ireland. She may not attain greatness, but peace and contentment will no longer be beyond her reach. Nature, who has been bountiful to her of some gifts, has denied her others. It may be that while the commercial cycle of the world's history, in which we live to-day, continues to roll, the part played by her in that world's eyes will be still a humble one. But when the cycle shall have run its course; when the pride of wealth and the worship of science shall have yielded, as they must yield in the end, to the higher aspirations of the human mind and a nobler impulse of the human heart, who knows what moral destiny may be in store for a people, however small or weak, that shall have preserved with a Christian simplicity its faith in the justice and the mercy of God?

THE END.

